F. J. M. KORSTEN

ROGER NORTH

(1651-1734)

VIRTUOSO AND ESSAYIST

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Promotor: Professor T.A. Birrell

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FRANCISCUS JOHANNES MARIE KORSTEN

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I dedicate this book to my wife, to my father and to the memory of my mother.

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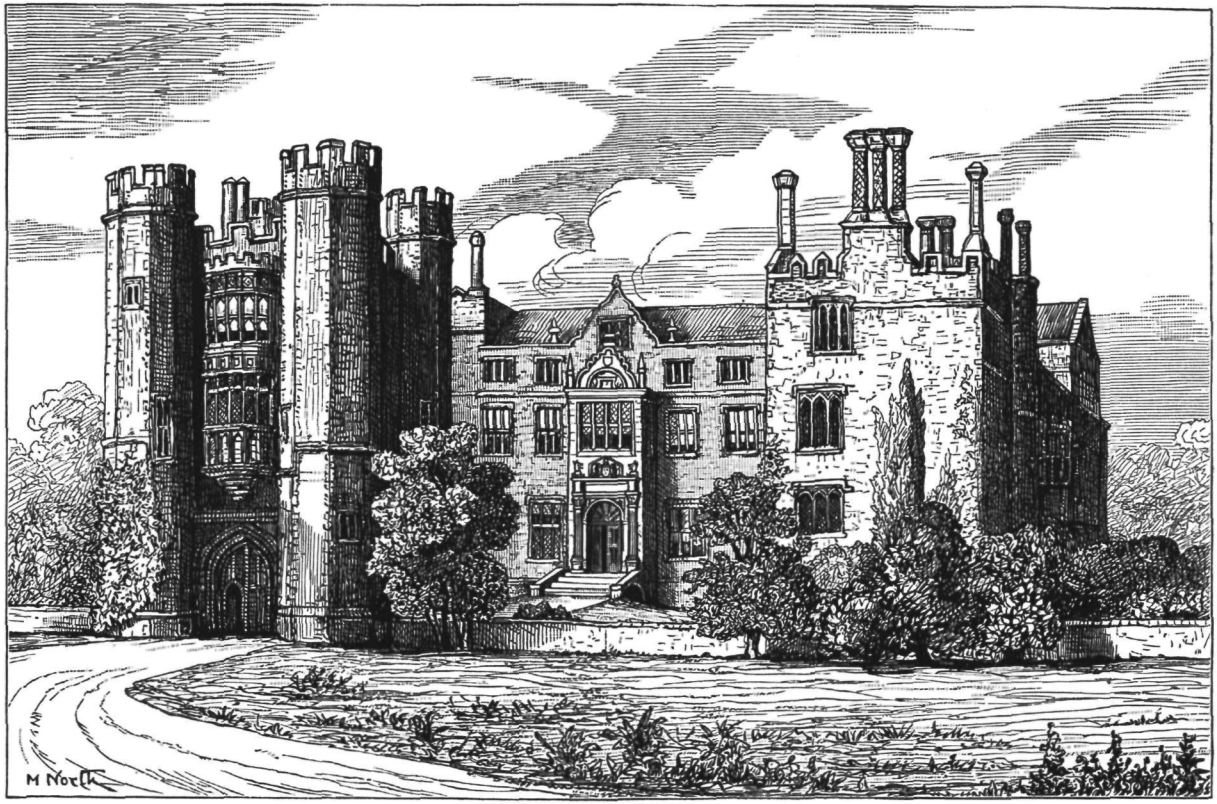
INTRODUCTION

Hitherto the studies of Roger North have each dealt with only one aspect of his many writings. His reputation mainly rests on his being the author of three biographies and an autobiography, and his originality as a biographer, both in method and style, has come to be appreciated in recent years. Among English political historians he is known as the author of an "inside" account of the politics of the last decade of the reign of Charles II. Furthermore he is known as an authority on the history of English music in the seventeenth century and as a writer on English architecture. The present study, which is based on an examination of both North's published writings and the large number of his unpublished manuscripts, aims at presenting an overall view of the man and his ideas.

In the three chapters of Part One of this book an attempt is made to picture North's life as fully as possible and to place him and his views against the background of the changing world picture in England at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Part Two contains a number of essays selected from the mass of North's unpublished manuscript essays in such a way as to illustrate the many-sidedness of this virtuoso, and to bring out the hitherto completely neglected aspect of North as an essayist. The two appendices that conclude this book show some aspects of the idiosyncratic vocabulary of North's essays and provide an extensive list of his correspondence.

PART ONE


M North

CHAPTER I

LIFE AND BACKGROUND

Roger North was the sixth and youngest (1)* son of Dudley 4th Baron North. He belonged to a remarkable family several members of which played a distinguished part in public life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Roger's grandfather, Dudley 3rd Baron North (1581-1666),was an important figure at the court of King James I. After retiring from court he lived at the family estate at Kirtling in Cambridgeshire. Lord North was a great lover of the arts; in his youth he had travelled on the Continent and had become acquainted with Italian music and painting. Musicians were regularly invited to come and stay at Kirtling and Lord North had a large collection of Italian and Flemish paintings. He was also an amateur poet and a man of wide interests, as appears from his collection of poems and essays entitled *A Forest of Varieties* which was published in 1645 (2). His eldest son Dudley (1602-1677) spent his youth at court, travelled abroad and served as a captain in the Low Countries for three years (3). In 1632 he married Anne, one of the two daughters of Sir Charles Montagu of Cranbrook Hall, Essex. The pair lived for some time at the house of Dudley's father who appears to have been a rather imperious paterfamilias. In 1638 they bought an estate at Tostock in Suffolk, glad to be able to escape occasionally from the whims and demands of the domineering old lord. Dudley, the later 4th Baron North, entered parliament for Cambridgeshire in 1640 and served in the Long Parliament and subsequently the Rump Parliament till he was excluded by the Parliamentarians in 1653 (4). Roger North extensively excuses his father for having stayed on so long; according to Roger his father was for a time deluded by the common prejudices of the time, but after he realized his mistake he heartily abhorred the Parliamentarians and their cause (5). In 1666 Dudley succeeded to the title and became 4th Baron North. Like his father, Dudley was a great lover of music and a cultured man. In 1669 appeared his treatise *Observations and Advices Oeconomical*, an interesting work containing his views on the management of a household and an estate. He also wrote a religious treatise, *Light in the Way to Paradise*, which was published posthumously in 1682 and it has only recently been discovered that he wrote quite a number of poems as well, which were

* Notes see p. 253

never published (6). Dudley's wife, Anne North, was a remarkable woman; she was well educated and very efficient in managing all the affairs of her huge family. Roger's numerous references to his mother are always affectionate and full of admiration (7).

Dudley 4th Baron North and his wife had six sons and four daughters. The eldest son and heir Charles was created 1st Baron Grey of Rolleston in 1673 through his marriage with Katherine, daughter and heir of William 1st Baron Grey of Warke and he succeeded his father as 5th Baron North in 1677. Relations between Charles and his brothers and sisters were strained; Charles never paid his brothers anything of the annuities that had been settled upon them by their father (8) and his political views were not those of his brothers, who were High Anglican Tories devoted to the Stuart cause. During James II's reign Charles was a great friend of the Earl of Sunderland who disliked the other Norths, especially Francis, and upon the Revolution he attached himself to the "faction" (9). Francis, the second son, became the best known of the North children. He was a very able lawyer and had a splendid career, and, in 1682, at the age of 44, he reached the highest post in his profession, that of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The year after he was raised to the peerage and was created 1st Baron Guilford. Francis's position and prestige enabled him to assist several of his brothers and sisters in their rise in the world and made him the central figure in the family (10). Dudley, the next brother, was a shrewd and efficient merchant who spent nearly twenty years of his life in Turkey and became one of the leading English merchants there. After having made a fortune he returned to England in 1680 and two years later was appointed sheriff of London in an election that was hotly disputed by the Whigs (11). Less high-minded than his brother Francis he was very practical and proved to be a capable commissioner of the Treasury and the Customs under Charles II and James II. Dudley is nowadays mainly remembered for his *Discourses upon Trade* published in 1691. The fourth son, John, was a scholar; in 1672, at the age of 28, he was elected Professor of Greek at Cambridge and in 1677 he succeeded Dr. Isaac Barrow as Master of Trinity College. He was a shy, retiring man and his poor health soon turned him into a valetudinarian. The warmth with which Roger described the lives of his brothers Francis and Dudley is far less present in his account of John's life. About Montagu, the fifth son, relatively little is known. Like Dudley he was a merchant who lived in Turkey for several years. When returning to Turkey in 1689 after a period of leave in England he was caught by the French (12) and kept a prisoner at Toulon for three and a half years. Montagu appears to have been a somewhat colourless person when compared with his illustrious brothers (13).

Roger's eldest sister Mary, married to Sir William Spring of Pakenham, died in child-bed at the age of 24. She was a great wit and impressed her brothers and sisters by her knowledge of literature and art (14). Anne, the second sister, married Robert Foley of Stourbridge. From her letters to Roger she emerges as

an independent woman and she was obviously the sister Roger felt closest to. Anne kept up a regular correspondence with Roger till her death in 1717 (15). The third sister Elisabeth first married Sir Robert Wiseman and after the latter's death William Paston, the second Earl of Yarmouth, who was a courtier of note under James II. Christian, the youngest sister, married Sir George Wenyeve of Brettenham. Roger's contacts with his two youngest sisters appear to have been good but not very frequent.

The exact date of Roger's birth is not known, but probably he was born at Tostock in 1651 (16). The early years of his life were divided between Tostock and Kirtling because Dudley 3rd Baron North demanded regular visits, sometimes lasting more than a year, from his eldest son and his family. In many ways Kirtling must have been an impressive and stimulating place for the grandchildren. There was first of all the awe-inspiring yet colourful figure of the grandfather, the "retired old fantastic courtier" as Roger calls him (17). The mansion itself was magnificent and had beautiful extensive grounds surrounding it. Music was one of the chief and almost daily entertainments in which the grandchildren were expected to take part. The walls of many of the spacious rooms were hung with paintings of artists like Zucarro, van Somer and Cornelius Janssen (18), paintings partly inherited and partly bought by Lord North himself (19).

At the age of five Roger was sent to a country clergyman in the neighbourhood of the Kirtling estate, the Rev. Ezekiel Catchpole (20). Till then he had been mainly under the wing of his mother; she was a firm, wise and pious woman fully equal to her task and one may assume that Roger owed his characteristic moral seriousness in large part to her. She taught her children to be frugal, industrious and honest and her views on the education of the children were shared by her husband, as appears from his remarks on this subject in *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (21). Still "very young and small" (22) Roger was transferred from the country parson to the free school at Bury St. Edmunds where his brothers Francis, Dudley and John had received their training (23). Here Roger was often ill and after some time he was sent home because of a threatening consumption. Upon recovery he went back to the Rev. Ezekiel Catchpole in whose household he spent some very happy years. Then he was, together with his brother Montagu, sent to the free school at Thetford.

In his *Autobiography* Roger has given an extensive and amusing account of his time at the free school at Thetford (24). From a very early age Roger had been highly interested in all kinds of mechanical contrivances and, not being very athletic, he spent most of his spare time at Thetford putting together "squibbs, crackers, Starrkites" and "Melting Mettalls, turning Joinery & such like Exercises" (25). Although quite a reasonable pupil he did not belong to the best, and the selfconsciousness and diffidence which he often suffered from later in life manifested themselves already here. After leaving Thetford school he spent a year at home reading logic with his father as a preparation

for the university. The well-known composer and music-master John Jenkins was at that time staying with the North family and Roger received music-lessons from him (26). During this year he enjoyed himself greatly trying to construct various things, but his going to the university put an end to all delights of this kind (27).

On 30 October 1667 he entered Jesus College Cambridge as fellow commoner. Dudley Lord North was in the habit of providing his sons with a long letter of advice, to be often perused, when they entered upon an important stage of their life such as going to the university or leaving home to start a career. It is very probable that Roger, when leaving home for Cambridge, received a letter from his father similar to the one written by Dudley, Montagu and Roger to their nephew Francis 2nd Baron Guilford on his entering Trinity College Oxford early in 1689. In it the three brothers stress the importance of honour, integrity and good breeding, and warn the young lord against over-valuing himself and idle company (28). Roger's time at Cambridge was not a very happy period in his life. His father's means were limited and he could give Roger only a very small allowance which made it impossible for him to take part in many activities. Moreover Roger was shy and he did not feel at home as a fellow commoner among the noblemen's sons; he would have preferred moving in the circles of the common scholars. Jesus College in the 1660s was not a very congenial place for students of the earnestness, sensitiveness and sobriety of Roger, and his way of life must have contrasted oddly with the worldliness of most of the scholars (29). Roger's brother John nominally acted as his tutor but in fact left him to do entirely as he pleased. Consequently he hardly attended any lectures but read his books alone in his study. Logic, ethics and metaphysics were the subjects he dabbled in (30), but his real interest lay in mathematics, especially the practical side of it, and natural philosophy. He bought Descartes's works at a time when at Cambridge Descartes was still regarded by many as a dangerous modernist. Roger then conceived an enormous admiration for Descartes's theories (31) and his attitude towards Descartes was to remain essentially the same for the rest of his long life. Apart from his books music was the only diversion he had at Cambridge, for he had no friends and hardly ever left his room. After about a year he fell ill and went home; he did not return any more, but moved with the family to London early in 1669 (32) and was admitted to the Middle Temple on 21 April. Originally his father had designed him for the Civil Law but his brother Francis, who had by then become a distinguished lawyer, advised Lord North to put Roger to the Common Law.

Francis immediately took up young Roger and from this time till his death in 1685 Francis to a large extent determined the course of Roger's life. He provided a chamber for him at the Middle Temple and added to the scanty yearly allowance which Roger received from his father (33). While a student at the Middle Temple and also during his first years as a lawyer Roger tried

to improve his financial position by "court-keeping", that is, offering legal assistance at manorial courts (34). Roger looked up to Francis and was greatly impressed by the success the latter was rapidly achieving. In the 1670s Francis's star rose quickly and his reputation soon began to have its effects on Roger's career. On 29 May 1674 Roger was called to the Bar by favour, well before the end of the required period of seven years (35). Especially in the beginning Roger acted as a kind of secretary to Francis and he was employed by Francis in activities for which the latter did not have sufficient time; thus Roger was sent to King's Lynn to try and promote Francis's election as member of parliament there (36). After he had become Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1675 Francis regularly went on circuit and Roger always accompanied him. Roger's first step towards distinction was his appointment, by Archbishop Sancroft in February 1679, as Steward to the See of Canterbury with a fee of £60 per annum (37). He owed this appointment probably indirectly to Francis because Dr. Henry Paman, who was a friend of Archbishop Sancroft and a high official at Lambeth Palace, knew Francis well (38). A few months before Francis became Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in December 1682 Roger was appointed King's Counsel (39) and thereby entered upon the most prominent period of his public career.

Francis and Roger spent much of their time together and after the death of Francis's wife, in 1678, Roger was hardly ever absent from Francis, whether at Wroxton, Francis's country-estate, or at London. Francis developed into one of the important Tory politicians who in the turbulent years of the Popish Plot and its aftermath firmly sided with the King against the Whigs, and his views in this respect were fully shared by Roger. The North brothers were on familiar terms with many of the leading Tory aristocrats such as the Duke of Lauderdale, the Marquis of Worcester (40) and Lord Hatton (41). Roger and Francis had many interests in common; a taste for music and painting had been implanted very early in them. At home in the evenings they often discussed music, both the technical and aesthetic aspects of it, and they played and sang together (42). In 1683 there were meetings between Francis and Roger and the composer Henry Purcell, the latter taking part in musical performances at Francis's house (43). Francis was a friend of Sir Peter Lely, the painter, and Roger came to know him very well; undoubtedly their interest in painting was stimulated by this contact (44). Natural philosophy was another subject both were greatly interested in and Francis, a virtuoso himself, knew many of the virtuosi and scientists of the day. Roger must have heard several of them deliver their views at his brother's house. Francis wrote two treatises in this field, one on hydrostatics against Sir Matthew Hale's theories (45), the other on the barometer in answer to a challenge from Sir Samuel Morland (46). These essays had been written after extensive discussions between Francis and Roger and other members of the family.

His study at the Middle Temple and subsequently his practice as a barrister

left Roger enough time to pursue his many interests. He was a weekly attender of music-meetings in London and became acquainted with the most recent Italian music that was then being introduced into England (47). Gradually mastering musical theory, Roger also began to make attempts at composing. From his account of the circuit-travels with his brother he appears as a keen observer of the persons and scenes around him, always eager to know and to learn. He comments on the structure of the churches they visited, the quality of the church-organs, the peculiarities of the various country dialects. When in 1678 a large part of the Middle Temple buildings was destroyed by fire Roger, as one of the prominent members, became involved in the process of rebuilding. He had many conversations with Nicholas Barbon the contractor and came into contact with Sir Christopher Wren who had been called in to supervise the rebuilding. Roger became fascinated by architecture and he bought all the standard works in order to be thoroughly informed. He taught himself the principles of perspective and made many drawings. His building activities at the Temple culminated in 1684 in his designing of the Middle Temple Gateway, a structure that for a long time was regarded as Wren's (48). Natural philosophy and practical inventions occupied much of his spare time during these years. He was fond of sailing and its attraction for him lay, apart from the sheer pleasure of it, in its technical aspects. In 1675 he was engaged in constructing a coffee-roaster (49); he corresponded with his brother Dudley in Constantinople about the barometer (50) and immediately after Dudley's return to England in 1680 the two brothers were experimenting with a barometer (51). With the evident relish of the man who appreciates any novelty of this kind Roger tells a correspondent, in January 1682, that he is writing with a steel pen (52). In this period also Roger began to put his thoughts on subjects of natural philosophy on paper (53).

After having been called to the Bar Roger owed his employment in the courts of law almost entirely to the importance of his brother, and in all his writings about Francis he expresses his great gratitude to his "best brother" for this. Yet his dependence on Francis's prestige was also rather depressing to the insecure younger brother. Roger was well aware of the fact that but for his brother he would never have reached so far; moreover, Francis was not always very tactful in his attitude of the successful elder brother. All this made Roger occasionally rebel against the overpowering superiority of Francis (54) and caused him to have fits of melancholy and despondence in which he doubted his own capacities and despaired of ever achieving anything by himself in his profession (55). Francis tried to dispel these fears by selling him an annuity for life on advantageous terms and by otherwise lending and giving him money (56), which had the effect of setting him somewhat at ease in this respect.

Towards the end of 1682 Roger gradually emerged as one of the more prominent Tory lawyers. The appointment that showed his growing importance,

and at the same time opened the way to further preferments, was his being made one of the King's Counsel on 26 October 1682 (57). Roger's rise to prominence coincided with the re-assertion of power by Charles II and the Tories, and the corresponding decline of the Whigs. In August 1681 Roger had been present at the trial of Stephen College at Oxford (58), his brother Francis being one of the chief judges. This trial, together with that of Fitzharris (59) some months before, marked the end of the period of growing Whig influence following upon the Popish Plot and the passing of the Exclusion Bill. Roger's appointment as King's Counsel had immediate effects upon his position at the Middle Temple. He was made a Bencher and one month later a Lent Reader; in October 1683 followed his election as Treasurer of the Middle Temple. In this capacity Roger was very actively engaged in the rebuilding of the chambers and he had to cooperate closely with Sir Cristopher Wren. By 1685 he had obviously become one the most influential lawyers in the Middle Temple (60).

Roger's new position brought him into close contact with the leading politicians of the day. After 1682 he frequently attended hearings of the Privy Council and he became personally known to Charles II and the Duke of York. As soon as he had become King's Counsel his fees rose enormously and within three years he gathered the greater part of the fortune that enabled him to buy an estate after the Revolution. In two successive years, 1683 and 1684, he had about £4000 a year, a very high income for a lawyer at the time (61). Roger's practice lay mainly in the Court of Chancery and both Francis, as Keeper of the Great Seal, and Dudley, as commissioner of the Customs, provided him with many cases. The courts of justice played an important part in the Tory reaction and especially 1683 was a busy year for the law-courts because the "ignoramus" verdicts (62) of the years before had left many persons untouched who could only now be tackled. Roger was one of the lawyers who took part in the trials of the Rye-House plotters in 1683; he was one of the Counsel for the Prosecution against the two main defendants, Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney (63). Honestly devoted to the cause of the Stuart monarchy, Roger regarded Russell and Sidney as persons highly dangerous to the peace of the country and he had no doubts about the justice of the decision to convict them. On 21 July 1683 Roger was chosen free Burgess Of Dunwich in Suffolk and nine days later he and two others presented, on behalf of the Corporation of Dunwich, an address to Charles II to congratulate him on the discovery of the Rye-House plot (64). Roger was by now high in favour with the men in power and during these years his name was mentioned more than once when an important legal post fell vacant (65). In January 1684 he was appointed Solicitor-General to the Duke of York, a post which he held till James's accession to the throne. He then became Solicitor-General to Queen Mary of Modena and in January 1686 her Attorney-General (66). There can be no doubt that his brother Francis either directly or indirectly played a

part in bringing about these appointments.

After James had become king in February 1685 Francis North gradually lost some of his influence and he began to feel side-tracked. Sunderland and Jeffreys were coming to the fore as James's main advisers and they did not like the Lord Keeper because he was in their eyes far too rigid. It is also likely that James II felt that Francis was not going to be a very willing instrument in the carrying out of his plans to catholicize the whole of England. In his capacity as Lord Keeper, Francis had expected to be asked to deliver a speech at the opening of James's first parliament in May 1685, which would have been the normal procedure, but James ignored him (67). Moreover, from the very first day of his receiving the Great Seal Francis had experienced his high post as a heavy burden and gradually his health had begun to suffer and he had grown depressed. For these reasons Francis gladly accepted the advice of his doctors, early in the summer of 1685, to go to Wroxton in order to try and recover. Roger and Dudley went with him and spent the whole of the summer at Wroxton, trying to amuse their brother and keep up his spirits. They energetically began to carry out renovations at the estate, both in the grounds and the buildings, and they obviously enjoyed these activities very much. To Roger the change from London to Wroxton was something of a liberation. During the last three years of Charles II's reign he had risen to a considerable height, he had been in the midst of affairs and had come to know the court and the leading politicians. Buoyed up by a feeling of success he had been convinced of being engaged in the right cause. Yet now Francis's experiences under James showed that things were not going to continue in exactly the same way as before. Roger's account of their summer at Wroxton reveals that he was glad to be free from what he had come to feel as the contamination of London and the court (68). At Wroxton there were only people he knew and trusted and there was no need to be continually on his guard; moreover, living on an estate in the country had always had a strong appeal for him (69).

Under James II Roger attained an even higher station in public life than in the last few years of Charles II's reign (70). Immediately after James's accession to the throne, the Corporation of Dunwich asked Roger to offer congratulations on their behalf to James and on 18 February Roger did so. At the end of March Roger was elected to represent Dunwich in the parliament that was soon to be held (71). Much trouble had been taken by James and the Tory leaders to fill the House of Commons with members whose loyalty to the Stuarts could not be doubted and they had been very successful (72). Francis North had used his influence to get as many relatives and friends as possible into parliament. Hence, apart from Roger, Dudley North (by now Sir Dudley) entered parliament as a member for Banbury, and Francis's brothers-in-law Robert Foley and Sir George Wenyeve were also elected. Parliament met for the first time on 19 May 1685, and Roger has left us an account of the debates and events of the fourth day, 22 May, an account evidently written soon after.

Roger, new to the trade, was occasionally somewhat bewildered at the strange goings-on, the bustle and the quickness with which some decisions were taken. He regarded Sir Edward Seymour's speech in which the latter questioned the validity of many returns and called for an investigation into the election proceedings as "peevish" (73). It is clear that, certainly in the beginning of the reign, Roger was one of the large group that were prepared to follow James in almost everything.

From what he himself says in his *Autobiography*, and also from other sources (74), one can easily see that Roger played an active and rather conspicuous part in the parliament of James II. On 18 June 1685, he was ordered to prepare a Bill for removing the prohibition of the import of French wines and vinegar. This Bill, which within ten days passed into an Act, was an important move in the attempt to increase the receipts of the Customs and hence also the country's revenue. Of course, Roger was assisted in matters of this kind by his brother Dudley, who was one of the most able financial experts of James's parliament, and who was behind many of the measures to make this parliament's liberality towards James possible (75). On 29 June Roger had the special care of a Bill for a general Registry of Estates and Titles. Such a registry had long been one of Francis North's desires (76) and Roger fully shared his brother's views. Enthusiastically he applied himself to the subject and studied it thoroughly, but in the end parliament rejected his proposal (77). At the opening of what was to become the last session on 9 November 1685, James bluntly told his parliament that he wanted money for a well-trained and bigger professional army because the militia had proved inadequate during Monmouth's rebellion in June (78). Moreover he told them that the army contained a number of Catholic officers whom, though not qualified by law, he wished to maintain. The King in fact demanded two things most Englishmen abhorred, a standing army and recognition of the Catholics, and it is therefore not so strange that the majority of even this House of Commons, including Roger North, refused to grant James money for this purpose and declared the appointment of Catholic officers illegal, thus showing their opinion that the king cannot dispense with the laws. The Commons then after a long debate voted for a supply of £700,000, although not for the purposes specified by James, and on 17 November Roger was in the chair of the Committee of the whole House instituted to consider possible ways to raise this supply (79). However, James was so enraged at what had happened that he quite unexpectedly decided to prorogue parliament three days later.

In September 1685 Roger was faced with an entirely new situation in his life; his brother Francis, whom he had depended upon so much, died and this event deeply affected Roger. It seemed to him that until then he had lived in minority and the knowledge that from now on he was forced to follow his own path without the patronage and guidance of his brother made him feel despondent. John North had died in April 1683, Montagu was not to return

from Turkey till 1686 and it was therefore only natural that Roger should turn more and more to his brother Dudley with whom he had many interests in common. The bond between Dudley and Roger was very close, but yet different from the one between Francis and Roger in that there was much less of the master-pupil relation. Francis had appointed his brothers Dudley, Montagu and Roger executors of his will and guardians of his three children and for several years, in fact till the second Lord Guilford came of age in 1694, the managing of the estate business and the care of the children was a very time-consuming affair for the three brothers. Roger bore the largest part of the burden and his task was made more difficult by the young Lord not proving the most tractable of wards (80). Roger was not unfamiliar with this kind of work because both his mother and his friend Sir Peter Lely had appointed him their executor and moreover he was acting as guardian to John Lely, Sir Peter's illegitimate son. During the 1680s the disentangling of Lely's complicated estate, and the selling of his pictures and drawings, demanded much of Roger's time and energy (81). In his will Francis had also stipulated that all his papers and manuscripts, an enormous mass of material, should be left with Roger, to sort them out and to hand them over in due time to his eldest son (82).

Francis's death did not seem to have much influence on Roger's career. On 20 November 1685 Roger was elected Recorder of the City of Bristol; he was the King's choice for Recorder and he was strongly recommended by the Duke of Beaufort, whose influence in that part of the country was great (83). Bristol, and the West of England in general, were familiar to Roger, because the Western circuit was the one Francis and Roger had travelled most often and they had made many friends there. In 1682 Roger had been instrumental in bringing about the marriage between his brother Dudley and Lady Gunning, the daughter of Sir Robert Cann, the rich merchant and Member of Parliament for Bristol. Roger occupied this post till October 1688 when he was defeated in the election (84). Soon after he had become Recorder of Bristol, Roger reached the highest point of his career by his appointment as Attorney-General to the Queen and at the same time as member of the Queen's Council on 19 January 1686. This Council consisted of nineteen members, all of them leading politicians or courtiers under James. It was the task of the Council to look after the financial affairs of the Queen and Roger has left extensive accounts of what was discussed at the many meetings between February 1686 and March 1689. All the details of the Queen's receipts and expenditure were examined and Roger was often asked to prepare leases, contracts and other legal documents (85).

After James had prorogued parliament because it refused to cooperate in the matter of the dispensations for military officers, it became increasingly clear that he would try to realize his plans without the aid of parliament. From the beginning of the year 1686 the King and his ministers began to look for

ways to achieve this end. All prominent judges and lawyers were requested to give their views concerning the king's dispensing power in the case of military officers, but the result was not very encouraging to the court. In April 1686 Roger North, as Attorney-General to the Queen and one of the King's Counsel, was asked by the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys to deliver his opinion on this matter in writing and Roger, although very cautiously, argued that such a royal dispensation would be against the law (86). A few months later, in June, the court scored an important point when the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, in the case of Godden versus Hales, pronounced a verdict in favour of the king's dispensing power, a verdict which Roger North, who was present at the case in the King's Bench, disagreed with (87). The attempts to promote Catholics to high posts did not remain limited to the army; the universities, those bulwarks of Anglicanism, also came under attack and some bishoprics were filled with persons favourably disposed towards James and his policy (88). In July 1686 the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up (89) as an instrument to enforce the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. One of the methods to achieve a gradual infiltration of Catholics into high ecclesiastical posts at the universities was that of quo-warranto proceedings (90). During the last three years of his reign Charles II had used these tactics on a large scale to reduce Whig influence to a minimum. Roger North, who had applauded Charles's measures against the municipal corporations (91), now strongly disapproved of the quo-warranto proceedings against ecclesiastical corporations (92). Thus Roger, confronted with the consequences of the royal prerogative under James rather inconsistently modified his views in this respect (93).

Early in 1687 James realized that he had antagonized the Anglican Church so much that he could no longer expect any understanding for his plans from that side, and he began to consider the possibility of obtaining support from the Dissenters. In April 1687 the Declaration of Indulgence was issued giving freedom of religion to both Protestant and Catholic Dissenters. Some months later, in July, parliament, which had been prorogued several times, was dissolved and from then on James and his ministers began to work towards forming a new parliament whose members could be expected to support the repeal of the Test Act and the Penal Laws. To this end a large-scale campaign was started to find out how the country was disposed towards James's plans (94), and a special committee for the regulation of the corporations was set up (95). The majority of those approached refused to promise support and hence many Anglican Tories were forced to give up their posts to Catholics and Dissenters, a development highly regretted by Roger North (96). James and his ministers also resorted to the method of closeting, i.e. private interviews with important office-bearers. Roger and Dudley North were among those summoned to appear before the King in the autumn of 1687. Both of them refused to commit themselves on this point and in words that were to a large extent similar (97).

At the end of 1687 Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford and one of James's

strongest supporters, wrote his *Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed upon all Members of Parliament*. The tract called forth many indignant reactions and it is very probable that the answer to Parker's *Reasons*, to be found among Roger North's papers, was written by Roger himself, in it Parker's arguments are refuted systematically and Parker is attacked for being a time-server (98). In the beginning of 1688 Henry Care published *A Vindication of the Proceedings of his Majesties Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, this was an attempt to justify the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission, especially those against the Bishop of London, Henry Compton (99), and against Magdalen College Oxford (100) Roger North felt prompted to reply and he clearly expressed his disapproval of the measures taken against Compton and Magdalen College (101) Although Roger was very much against the "open & profest setting up of popery" which he saw happening all round him, his attitude towards the Catholics was not wholly negative and certainly more lenient than towards the Protestant Dissenters or "fanaticks" as he mostly called them Towards the end of James's reign when it was more and more evident to him that the situation was becoming untenable, Roger, looking back, reflected that the Catholics had wanted too much in too short a time, and that they could have achieved a great measure of integration into English society if only they had been more moderate and had been content with gradual steps towards acceptance (102)

As James's reign progressed Roger North found himself in a more and more awkward position He saw things developing in a way which he regarded as wrong, but on the other hand he felt a strong personal loyalty to the Stuart King "wch way shall ye poor king whome we love & admire turne himself seeing all ye civil part of his Governemt Enervated, and after he by ye want of it comes to discern that was his best strength"(103) Roger blamed James's scheming ministers and advisers for many of the mistakes and abuses and he believed that James would have called a parliament if his ministers had not prevented it, because they feared being called to account for all the illegal measures they had taken (104) Roger was one of the fast diminishing number of High Anglican Tories serving in a high post at James's court, many resigned or were dismissed An explanation why Roger stayed on in spite of his growing dissatisfaction may be found in his feeling of loyalty to James but also in the fact that his post, though high, was sufficiently marginal and in a way "neutral" Roger evidently played only a relatively minor part in the political process under James II

Roger's position was made more uneasy because, during James's reign, his sense of dissatisfaction with the world of politics deepened into a feeling of disillusionment and a distrust of those engaged in governing the country It seemed to him that fewer and fewer politicians were acting on principles of trust and honour and he came to loathe both the enemies and the majority of the supporters of James (105) Moreover, Roger's sober way of life (106) made him completely unfit for the pleasure-loving court-circles and he avoided the

court as much as possible (107). After Francis's death slanders about him had begun to circulate at court and this frightened off Roger even more. His relations with the new men in power, Sunderland and Jeffreys, were not very cordial. Roger and Dudley were regarded with some suspicion and attempts were made to compromise them by sending spies to their houses (108). The two brothers came into conflict with Sunderland over their sister Elisabeth who, as a very rich widow, was hunted after by a relative of Sunderland's (109). Roger's practice at the Bar went rather well during the first part of James's reign but gradually Roger began to experience obstruction from the side of Jeffreys. It is, therefore, not at all to be wondered that Roger felt very ill at ease in this climate and that he was thinking of ways to get away, as appears from the fact that, in February 1687, he was trying to buy an estate (110). Apart from this motive to leave London and the court there was also his ideal of "a generous way of country-living" (111), an ideal which he shared with more people at the time. After the Restoration there was a growing tendency, especially among royalists, to idealize life in the country, as opposed to the hollow temptations of the busy town, and to extol the pleasures of a simple industrious life on one's estate (112).

Between 1685 and 1690 Roger lived for the most part in Sir Peter Lely's house at Covent Garden. To him the house was a place of refuge where he could forget all about politics and devote himself to music and natural philosophy, and to writing down his thoughts about these subjects. Often Roger and Dudley would escape to Wroxton where they carried out alterations on the estate for their nephew. Like Roger, Dudley was greatly interested in natural philosophy and building and the two brothers spent much of their spare time experimenting, drawing and walking through the streets of London to survey buildings. They had frequent discussions with Wren about various aspects of architecture (113) and Robert Hooke was one of the scientists they were acquainted with (114). The death of Francis meant that the guarding of the interests of the family devolved upon Roger and Dudley, and especially Roger took his responsibility very seriously. When, at the end of 1686, his sister Elisabeth was pursued by a number of suitors and became the talk of the town, Roger felt ashamed because the honour of the whole family was concerned (115). Roger thoroughly investigated the financial background of the candidates and together with Dudley and Montagu he spent much time in negotiating a satisfactory marriage-settlement with the man who was to marry his sister at the end of 1687, the second Earl of Yarmouth (116).

With Roger's rise in the world during the 1680s he had gradually become a more important figure at Lambeth as well. Especially after 1685 when it became clear that the monopoly position of the Anglican Church was being threatened, Roger, as a leading High Anglican Tory lawyer, was taken more and more into the confidence of Archbishop Sancroft and he was often consulted by him. Sancroft asked him to express his views on the dispensing power, the Ecclesi-

astical Commission and on the question whether praemunire was applicable in case he, Sancroft, should refuse to confirm bishops who had not taken the tests (117). When, on 27 April 1688, the Declaration of Indulgence was issued for the second time (118), but now with the stipulation that it should be read by the clergy in their churches, the bishops and the clergy found themselves manœuvred into a difficult position. Should the King's command be obeyed or should he be resisted? The question was complicated by the fact that the doctrine of non-resistance had been for many years one of the most cherished and loudly-advocated doctrines of the Anglican clergy (119). There were several meetings of the bishops and the London clergy about the line of action to be taken and Roger, who knew some of the bishops personally (120), followed it all from nearby. He applauded the final decision not to read the Declaration, and he rejoiced at the steadfastness shown by the seven Bishops before and during their trial, although he regarded the popular outburst of sympathy on the Bishops' release from prison as hysterical (121).

By the end of September 1688 discontent over James's policy had spread widely and James had completely lost the confidence of the great majority of his subjects. By turning again to the Tory and Anglican party and making various concessions to them he tried to retrieve the situation, but it was too late. On 10 June Queen Mary had given birth to a son, James Edward, but suspicion was so rampant that many of James's opponents asserted that the baby was not the King and Queen's at all and that it was all a stratagem to secure the succession in the Catholic interest. On 22 October James called together a meeting of about forty prominent politicians, courtiers and ecclesiastical leaders in order publicly to prove the genuineness of his son. Roger North was present as well and, sitting in a back-row he hurriedly scribbled down in pencil as much as he could hear of the witnesses' reports (122). Meanwhile rumours had been going about for some weeks of the impending invasion of England by William of Orange (123). Roger himself reflected at the time on the possibility of a foreign invasion but he rejected the idea with horror because in his eyes it would make matters far worse (124). Yet the dreaded event came and in the turmoil following upon it Roger felt lost and bewildered (125). All those who had served in any capacity in James's government were frowned upon or even threatened. At the election for the convention in January 1689 Roger was chosen by the corporation of Dunwich but a few days before its first meeting his election was disputed and he was replaced by another candidate (126).

During the period between December 23, 1688 and February 13, 1689 when England had no king, there was a great outpouring of pamphlets in which various views about the future government-form of England were advanced (127). In the hectic weeks round the turn of the year Roger North was infuriated and alarmed at the many dangerous suggestions and doctrines that were freely ventilated. As a lawyer he complained bitterly of "y^{e} traducing our law words

& termes to porposes fals & mischevous, without any Coherence, authority or sence, as if our law Maximes were like Carpenters tools, as usefull to pull downe as to build up"; he heard on all sides "things alledg'd by honest understanding men wch I must know comes out of ye mouths of knaves & fools, and they not being Conversant in Such Matters doe Not observe ye Nonsense of them". He, therefore, in the early days of January 1689, decided to formulate his own views on the subject (128). The resulting treatise, "The prsent State of the English Governmt considered", gives us a very clear and detailed picture of Roger North's position at the Revolution (129). Roger admitted that James's leaving the country made it necessary to arrive at a firm settlement of the government, but, basing himself on what he called "the fundamentall Principles of the Comon Law", he asserted that hereditary monarchy was the only form of government possible in England. In his opinion the continuity of the constitution was not broken by the King's flight and the coming convention could not alter the government (130). The only solution acceptable under the circumstances was to declare James incapable of governing and to appoint William of Orange and his wife Mary regents for the time being; Roger clearly wanted to keep open the possibility of James's return to the throne (131). His adherence to the divine right theory placed him among that group of Tories who remained loyal to James and who were least prepared to accept William as king, not even as king de facto (132).

Not long after the crown had been offered to William and Mary by the convention on 13 February 1689, the Whigs began to demand a rehabilitation of their martyrs and a punishment of the main Tory offenders. Special committees of both Houses were set up to investigate the behaviour of those who, according to the Whigs, had been responsible for the many illegal measures under Charles and James. On 13 December 1689, Roger North had to appear before the so-called "Murder-Committee", the House of Lords Committee, in order to answer for his role in the trials of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney (133). The Whigs also wanted a redress by Act of Parliament for all those who had unjustly suffered under Charles and James. They introduced the Corporation Bill with a view to restoring the corporations forfeited in the two previous reigns, and by means of some clauses in this Bill the Whigs also aimed at depriving all the Tories who had played a part in the surrender of charters, of the right to vote at elections for a period of seven years. At the instigation of some of the bishops who were soon after to be deprived, Roger North wrote a pamphlet against the Corporation Bill, a pamphlet which, according to Roger, angered the Whigs very much (134). Another attempt at retaliation was the Bill of Pains and Penalties of January 1690. In a letter to a friend in the country who had anxiously inquired about the Bill Roger calls it "fforce & Not ye law" and he refers to the general alarm it caused in Tory circles (135). The Bill would make it possible to confiscate or charge fines on the estates of prominent Tories, and Francis and Dudley North were obvious targets for the Whigs. Roger tried

to avert this danger by justifying the behaviour of his brothers as much as he could under the circumstances (136). When Sir Samuel Bernardiston tried to get the judgment Francis North had pronounced against him reversed, clearly intending to charge his damages on the estate of the late Lord Keeper (137), Roger caused the report of the Soames-Bernardiston case to be reprinted (138). It is clear that this position of being constantly forced to defend himself and his brothers was an additional reason for Roger to become a nonjuror and to retire from active politics.

Apart from his abhorrence over the political developments of which the desecration of the reputation of his brothers formed a part, there was also his strong feeling of loyalty to Archbishop Sancroft and the other six Bishops who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary. Upon the Revolution Roger became the regular legal adviser of the Bishops, who were threatened first with suspension and subsequently with deprivation (139). He examined for Sancroft all the consequences of recognizing William as king de facto and at the request of the Archbishop and his colleagues he wrote several tracts about the legal implications of their position. According to Roger both the Canon and the Civil Law made it impossible for the Bishops to be deprived without a sentence by proper judges. He set forth once more (140) the various aspects of praemunire, the punishment allegedly awaiting the Bishops in case of non-compliance (141). Roger refused to give up his post of Steward to the See of Canterbury till he was officially replaced, in April 1692, by his successor William Baber (142). In the meantime he had refused to present himself to Sancroft's successor Archbishop Tenison, who had been installed in May 1691. After Sancroft had retired to his native village in Suffolk, Roger remained in contact with him, and just before his death in 1693 Roger assisted him in the settlement of his financial affairs (143). Dr.George Hickes was another of those who turned to Roger North for legal advice (144); Hickes consulted Roger about the wording of the written protest which he had put up on the cathedral-door when he was forced to surrender his post of Dean of Worcester (145). Because of this protest an official warrant to capture Hickes was issued and Hickes fled in disguise from Worcester to Roger's Middle Temple chambers in London (146). In October 1690 Roger was shocked to hear that Dr. Sherlock, one of the most prominent nonjurors, had eventually taken the oaths (147). In the years after 1689 many of the deprived clergymen or their widows were reduced to great poverty and Roger was one of the well-to-do nonjurors who tried to relieve their position by giving financial support (148).

It is difficult in Roger's case to make a distinction between political and religious nonjurorship (149) because to him loyalty to the Stuart monarchy and loyalty to the Anglican Church were one and the same thing. Roger saw the old world he had believed in crumbling more and more, and the events of 1689 and 1690 left him a deeply disillusioned man turning away in disgust from the world of politics and public activities. Wroxton became even more a

place of refuge than it had been before the Revolution, and Roger and Dudley spent much of their time there working and experimenting in their "laboratory" (150). Now there was of course much more reason for Roger to try and acquire an estate in the country, and at the end of 1689 we find him making inquiries about the estate of Yelverton Peyton at Rougham (151) and other estates in Norfolk (152). All through 1690 he extensively informed himself of the financial aspects of the Rougham estate, employing agents to inspect the farms and the land, and on 26 December 1690 he signed the title-deed, having agreed to buy the estate for £8000 (153). The estate was in bad repair and Roger threw himself enthusiastically into the rebuilding of the manor-house and the general ordering of the estate (154). He had his own ideas about building, and the work was carried out under his immediate and active superintendence. His brother-in-law Robert Foley was ironmonger to the navy and Roger ordered many of the tools and materials he needed from him (155). All these activities occupied much of his time for several years and were in a way a means of channelling his energies anew.

Once Roger had bought Rougham the process of dissociating himself from the corruption of London was accelerated: "I am as solitary in London as in a wilderness, like a jackdaw among Rooks, but having cast anchor in Norfolk I am one half there y^{t} is in thought... As for News I have None being but a freshman in london,& neither see nor seek Comp^{a}."wee country-lawyers doe but just keep termes as old doggs goe to Church, for fashion sake" (156). Yet the self-conscious tone of expressions like "wee country-lawyers" and, in another letter of the time, "the Country-fools such as I am" (157), points to a feeling of uneasiness about his new position. This attitude is also discernible in the essay on building which he wrote while engaged in the rebuilding of the Rougham manor. Before putting forth his views on the subject he defends himself at great length against possible objections to his building activities (158). Here, as also in many of his writings on natural philosophy, a note of guilt can be detected: apparently Roger had qualms about having opted out of public life and spending his time on occupations that were regarded as trifling by many others. To a certain extent his retiring was felt by him as an evasion of responsibilities (159).

The break with the past was made more complete for Roger when, on 31 December 1691, his brother Dudley died. Dudley had been Roger's close companion since 1685 and especially after the Revolution Roger had derived much support from him. At the time of Dudley's death Montagu was still a prisoner in France (160) and Roger naturally assumed the responsibility for the upbringing of Dudley's children. Roger had now become virtually the head of the North family. In January 1691 Roger's eldest brother Charles, with whom he and his brothers had not been on very cordial terms, had died leaving three of his children, Charles, William and Dudleya under the guardianship of their

uncles Dudley and Roger (161). Besides this trust Roger still had the care of Francis's children and the estate business of the young Lord Guilford on his hands. For some years Roger divided his time mainly between looking after the interests of various members of the family and working on his estate, travelling regularly between London and Rougham (162). After the Revolution he had not abruptly left off practising at the bar but his activities in this field decreased rapidly. Roger had felt only really at home in Charles II's time – it is significant that more than once in later writings a sentence like "our own times, I mean Cha^{2ds}" occurs (163) – and the fact that he began writing his autobiography in the first half of the 1690s (164) testifies to his feeling that an important part of his life was definitely over.

On 26 May 1696 Roger, who had a few times before seriously considered the possibility of marrying (165), married Miss Mary Gayer, the thirty-year-old daughter of Sir Rober Gayer of Stoke Poges in Buckinghamshire (166). Sir Robert had been a courtier and a friend of Charles II and he had from an early age been on intimate terms with William Sancroft, the later Archbishop. A fervent Jacobite, he was implicated in the Duke of Berwick's plot in the spring of 1696, and because of this he fled with his family to the Continent from whence he returned to England in June 1698 (167). There are hardly any references among Roger North's papers to his marriage and this may well have something to do with the fact that the marriage took place at the height of the agitation about the Jacobite plots (168). In his many letters Roger does not often mention his wife and the few letters of hers that have survived do not reveal very much (169); she seems to have been a quiet and inconspicuous person. After the marriage Roger's visits to London and other places became much fewer (170) and now he entered upon a period of retired country-living that was to last for almost forty years.

The period of Roger's life on his estate at Rougham forms a clearly defined, though not very eventful, pattern. There are no indications that Roger ever became an active Jacobite after the Revolution, although he strongly sympathized with the cause of the Stuarts and went on hoping, at least during William's reign, that James or his son would be restored to the throne. Roger was not the stuff of which plotters are made and he did not take part in any of the several Jacobite plots that occurred during his lifetime. At the end of the year 1690 Roger and Dudley became by chance nearly involved in the Preston-plot. Viscount Preston and John Ashton came to sup with the two brothers the night before they set out for France, and they offered their assistance in trying to secure Montagu's liberty (171). According to Roger, Dudley and he knew nothing about Preston's real errand but for some weeks after the capture of Preston and Ashton they were expecting to be sent for and examined because appearances were against them (172). Until 1700 Roger maintained some form of contact with the court of the exiled King at St. Germain. Queen Mary of

Modena continued to regard Roger as her Attorney-General, as appears from letters written from France by her secretary John Caryll in 1689, 1696 and 1700. In these letters Roger was asked to prepare leases and bills for granting offices at the court of the Queen and apparently he did so (173). When William's wife Mary died in December 1694 the Jacobites hoped that this would perhaps be the opportunity to get rid of the "usurper", and Roger on that occasion expressed the view, shared by the Jacobites and many non-Jacobite Tories, that because the kingship was lodged in William and Mary together there was now legally speaking a demise and that consequently parliament ought to be dissolved (174). Due to the anti-Jacobite feelings aroused by the plots in the spring of 1696 an Act of Parliament was passed in April 1696 requiring every office-holder to swear allegiance to William as the rightful King. Something similar happened again in the beginning of 1702 when, after the death of James II, an Act of Parliament was passed imposing upon every office-holder the duty to abjure the pretended James III, who had been officially recognized as King of England by Louis XIV. On both occasions Roger advised friends who had asked his opinion, not to run the risk of plunging themselves and their families into poverty and misery and to comply for form's sake, although he emphatically declared that he himself would never change his mind on this point (175). On the whole Roger adopted an attitude of passive conformity during William's reign, an attitude which did not change during the rest of his life.

Throughout his retirement at Rougham, perhaps with the exception of Queen Anne's reign (176), Roger was regarded by the authorities as a person "whome wee have reason to suspect to be Disaffected to his Maties Government". In April 1696 he was summoned to appear at the Court of Sessions in Norwich but he refused to go and his house was searched for weapons by the militia. It is not unlikely that Roger's connection with Sir Robert Gayer had made the authorities extra cautious. During the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and at the time of the Atterbury plot in 1722, Roger's house was again searched for weapons (177). In 1722 the complicity of Roger's nephew Lord North and Grey in the plot no doubt had something to do with these measures. Moreover Roger's name appeared in a list containing the names of Norfolk Tories with Jacobite sympathies, drawn up by the plotter Christopher Layer. The latter had shown this list to the Pretender in Rome and it later fell into the hands of the Committee of Inquiry investigating the plot (178).

From his marriage in 1696 to his death in 1734 Roger lived a rather isolated but very active life on his estate. Only pressing business demands, visits to relatives and the prospect of musical performances in London could draw him away from Rougham. In the first few years after his marriage Roger used his Middle Temple chambers as a pied à terre when visiting London; after 1700 he regularly rented these chambers to relatives and acquaintances (179). Roger was a cultured and well-educated gentleman for whom reading and writing were

daily activities He was well versed in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (180) and his familiarity with the classics, especially the Latin authors, is evident everywhere (181) Till the end of his long life he went on collecting books on a wide variety of subjects both for his own library and for the parochial library at Rougham (182) Music played a great part in the Rougham household just as it had done at Kirtling and Tostock Roger had an organ built at his house by the German organ-builder Schmidt or "Father Smith" (183), and musicians sometimes came to stay with them (184) A lover of opera-music, Roger occasionally went to London to hear new operas performed (185) Roger hated ostentation of any kind (186) and life at Rougham was rather sober, moreover the expenditure involved in the management of his estates – about 1700 Roger had bought another estate at Ashwicken not far from Rougham – and the cares of a large family made it necessary for him to live frugally (187) He was on good terms with most of his Norfolk neighbours, especially with families like the L'Estranges and the Calthorpes (188) who had like him attached themselves to the nonjuring cause The estate business and his many interests took up so much of his time that his days were quite full Taciturn (189) and well able to amuse himself (190) he spent his days at Rougham happily, but to his wife their country-life often seemed dull (191) As the years went by Roger spent less and less time away from the estate, also because fits of the gout began to reduce his mobility (192) His many writings and letters show that right until his death Roger preserved a great intellectual curiosity and an astonishing agility of mind

The disadvantages of such a retired life for a man with the keen interest Roger had in the cultural, religious and scientific developments of his time are obvious, and correspondence was for him an important way of keeping in touch with the outside world and giving expression to his views on various subjects Besides the many business letters there were letters to and from relatives, several nephews and nieces were in the habit of asking their uncle's advice and communicating their experiences to him William Lord North and Grey gave extensive descriptions of his travels on the Continent and Roger often asked him to buy books and send them to England (193) Roger's godson Philip Foley, studying at Peterhouse College Cambridge, kept him informed of recent publications in the field of religion, science and the classics, and Roger discussed the merits and demerits of these books with him (194) The latter's brother Dudley, a Turkey merchant, regularly sent from Constantinople all kinds of seeds and plants – some of them very exotic – which Roger experimented with in his gardens and fields (195) One of Roger's most prominent correspondents was the philosopher and scientist Dr Samuel Clarke, who during the first half of his life also lived in Norfolk (196) Clarke answered several questions Roger put to him about the new science, especially about Newton's theories (197) With Dr Pepusch, the musicologist, who was the music-teacher of his youngest son Montagu, Roger exchanged information

about harmony and consorts (198). He corresponded with Hickes about so widely different subjects as the *Examen*, his answer to Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (199) and etymology (200). Mrs. Vernon, the wife of a London lawyer and cousin of Roger, whom Roger sometimes employed as his agent, imparted details about the social life in London and gave descriptions of plays she had seen (201). During the last four or five years of his life Roger wrote many letters to his son Montagu at Cambridge (202). In several of these the old father counselled his youngest child about the path to be followed in life and these letters could therefore perhaps be regarded as belonging to the letter-of-advice tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (203).

When Roger purchased Rougham in 1690 the annual rental did not amount to more than £400; in the course of the years he made such improvements at the estate that, at the time of his death, he had raised the rental to about £3500 (204). Roger spent very much time and energy on cultivating the estate and turning it into a beautiful, well-organised and self-contained whole. He carried out agricultural and horticultural experiments both at Rougham and Ashwicken, he laid out gardens, planted trees, bred horses, built dykes and dug ponds (205). In doing all this Roger was undoubtedly putting into practice many of his father's ideas about estate-management and living in the country (206). Also it is not unlikely that Roger while reconstructing and cultivating Rougham had the estate of the Duke of Beaufort at Badminton in mind as an ideal (207). Roger had definite ideas about the best way of ordering his retired life:

> ... lay aside Profit, and consider how a Gentleman should entertain himself and his Family ... he must find some Sort of diversion for them. Must it be altogether going Abroad to make, or at Home receiving visits? Or if the Female Part are so grave to decline that Course of Life, must they be always within? Or if they stir out, have Nothing but mere Air to invite them? ... Therefore court Business, if you would pass for an Epicurean and let it be such as brings Comfort to Nature, and not Pain and Torment in the Consequence; that is to say, lawful, profitable, obliging and temperate. So you avoid offending the Publick, increase your Store, win your Friends and Family, and preserve your Health (208).

Roger believed that a useful, well-regulated life on one's estate with its emphasis on traditional values was far more honourable and profitable than life in London with all its unrest and its empty allurements (209).

Another of Roger's many activities demanding much of his time all through his life at Rougham was that of being a legal and financial adviser to his relatives and acquaintances. He was consulted about leases, indentures, wills and marriage-settlements, and he was asked by many persons to be the sole or joint executor of their will (210); among these were Dr. Henry Paman, Sir Robert Gayer, Sir George Wenyeve, Montagu North, Dudleya North, Mrs. Anne Foley and Sir Nicholas L'Estrange (211). Roger was often called in as arbiter in legal and financial disputes between relatives and between neighbours and it is obvious

that in this capacity he had a great reputation among them. In 1705 his nephew William Lord North and Grey, at that time fighting at Marlborough's side on the Continent (212), requested his uncle to try and solve some technical difficulties delaying his marriage with Maria Margaretha, daughter of Vrijheer van Ellemeet, Treasurer of Holland. Roger wrote letters to the Attorney-General Sir Edward Northey and to the Duchess of Marlborough asking them to use their influence to speed up the marriage (213). As one of the executors, in fact the main executor, of the will of his father-in-law Sir Robert Gayer (214), Roger became involved in a long controversy with the deceased's eldest son Robert. For almost five years Roger conscientiously tried to carry out, against the opposition of Robert Gayer, the wishes of his father-in-law as expressed in his will (215), which also entailed the selling of Sir Robert's large collection of pictures (216). At the end of 1706 Roger was, much to his relief, released from this task by a decree of the Court of Chancery, and the executorship was transferred to James Annesley, second Earl of Anglesey, and to Sir William Rich (217). After the death of her husband in 1700 Mrs. Walpole, one of Roger's Norfolk neighbours (218), and her son Robert, the later Prime Minister, quarrelled about the settlement of the Walpole estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, and in 1703 Sir Nicholas L'Estrange recommended Roger North to them as an arbiter (219). Roger thoroughly informed himself of all the particulars and sent extensive letters of advice to Mrs. Walpole and her son (220). The business took up much of Roger's time and was not very pleasant because Mrs. Walpole proved to be irritatingly obstinate at times (221). When a son of his brother-in-law Sir George Wenyeve had been appointed steward to the manor of Mildenhall in Suffolk, Roger drew up a memorandum for him called "Some Hints about Courtkeeping" (222). Roger's book *The Gentleman Accomptant* makes it clear why so many people entrusted their legal and financial affairs to him; the book is an example of modern and efficient bookkeeping and shows its author to have been a scrupulous and expert manager.

When Roger came to live at Rougham the church was in a dilapidated state and in 1702 he decided to start repairs (223), spending more than £100 on this (224). The living was small, amounting only to £25 per annum and Rougham had to share its vicar with other villages in the neighbourhood. Roger wanted to get the presentation of the living so that he could augment the income and give Rougham a permanent vicar. The presentation of the living belonged to the Lord Keeper and in January 1703 Roger approached the then Lord Keeper, Sir Nathan Wright, with his request but apparently without result (225). Roger also had an antiquarian interest in the church and estate of Rougham. He examined all the deeds and documents relating to Rougham which the Yelvertons had carefully preserved through the centuries, and provided them with titles and brief descriptions (226). All these deeds and documents were after Roger's death kept in a tin box, which was not opened till the middle of the nineteenth century, and they are still at Rougham at the present moment (227). Roger started writing a history of Rougham and the antiquities relating to the church

of Rougham (228), and he corresponded about this subject with Dr. Thomas Tanner who was at the time Chancellor of the Diocese of Norwich (229). In March 1709 an Act of Parliament was passed providing for the establishment of parochial libraries for the use of the poorer clergy. The Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), under the stimulating guidance of Thomas Bray, managed to establish about sixty-five parochial libraries between 1710 and 1730 (230). Besides the SPCK there were also individuals who decided to found a parochial library and Roger North was one of them. For this purpose he had a special room built adjacent to the north aisle of the church at Rougham, which was finished in the summer of 1712 (231). Roger drew up the statutes (232) and provided many books for the library, but there were several other contributors. Roger's niece Dudleya North, out of gratitude for the way in which her uncle had for many years attended to her affairs (233), left her valuable collection of Latin, Greek and Oriental books to the library (234). Hickes and Sir Christopher Calthorpe also donated books (235), and in 1714 the library contained about 1,150 volumes (236).

Judging from the enormous amount of written material that has survived one can only conclude that at Rougham Roger North must have spent a large part of his time at his writing-table. Various explanations can be given of this abundant productivity. The first and perhaps the most important is the delight he took in writing: "to say truth I cannot baulk y^{e} humour or rather vanity of wrighting & y^{e} pleasure I find it affords. I doe Not excuse my Self more then men use for other vanitys less reasonable tho more Indulged" (237). Writing down his ideas on any subject was for Roger the best way to order them and to test their validity (238). Living in isolation he had hardly any one to exchange ideas with or to criticize the conclusions he arrived at (239). Hence he tried to be his own critic as much as possible by means of re-writing his material again and again (240), and a substantial part of his writings consists of different versions of the same essays or books. For many years Roger ambitiously hoped to write a comprehensive work on natural philosophy (241), but by the beginning of the 1720s he realized that in his circumstances he would never be able to accomplish this and he reluctantly gave up the plan (242). Much of what he wrote was not intended for publication but for his own future diversion (243); later in life he liked nothing better than to peruse his own manuscript-volumes (244). Roger's motives for writing the *Lives* of his brothers and the *Examen* were several: indignation about the way in which the times of Charles II had been misrepresented in a number of history books published early in the eighteenth century; a desire to clear the reputations of his brothers Francis and Dudley of the blemishes cast upon them by the writers of the books in question; nostalgia for the times in which he had felt happy and an attempt to relive those times by writing about them (245). Roger stated that he wrote these works "to oblige posterity with a clear image of antecedent

times". Therefore in his opinion even the most minute and ostensibly insignificant things and events had to be recorded, otherwise all everyday concerns would be profound mysteries to later generations (246). Certain of his writings were a continuation of or a working out of opinions held by his brothers Francis, Dudley and John, and thus formed perhaps a kind of posthumous tribute. Roger transcribed all Francis's writings and this alone must have taken up the best part of the years 1708 and 1709 (247). He deliberately undertook to write what he called "vulgar English" in order to render the subjects he dealt with more accessible (248). Roger's favourite form of writing was the essay because unlike "a just tract or regular discours" it gave him the opportunity to express his thoughts "sincerely & In the very dress as they appear" (249).

Roger North published more works during his life than has hitherto been generally assumed. Dudley's *Discourses upon Trade* was provided with a ten-page preface by Roger. The preface is so markedly different in style from the *Discourses* themselves and contains so many phrases and ideas that occur in other writings by Roger that there can be no doubt about the authorship. Probably Roger saw to the publication of the *Discourses* during the last stage of Dudley's illness and he wrote the preface partly to apologize for Dudley's unpolished and colourless style (250). In 1698 appeared the pamphlet *Arguments and Materials for a Register of Estates* which, as G.A. Starr has argued, can be identified "with virtual certainty" as Roger North's (251). The numerous notes on the subject among the Rougham papers and elsewhere confirm and reinforce Mr. Starr's hypothesis (252). Translating was one of Roger's many interests (253) and in 1701 he published *Reflections on our Common Failings* (254), a translation of the first volume of *Réflexions sur les Défauts d'Autrui* (255), a collection of moral essays by the French priest Pierre de Villiers (256). Roger also worked at a translation of the second volume but apparently he never finished it. As he says in the translator's preface he regarded it more or less as a social duty for men in his position to spend their spare time in such a useful way and he had chosen this particular book because all the writer's "Reflections are bent to Truth and managed genteely" and his design "is to Reform all without disgracing any" (257). In 1706 the English translation of Jean Le Clerc's life of John Locke came out (258), and this book and some other works dealing with the history of Restoration England (259) gave in Roger's view such a distorted picture of that time that he felt impelled to write a tract called *Reflections upon some passages in Mr LeClerc's Life of Mr John Locke* which was printed in 1711 (260). At the instigation of some of his friends (261) Roger published two years later, in 1713, *A Discourse of Fish and Fish-Ponds*, in which he showed himself to be an expert on fish-keeping and fish-biology (262). In 1714 *The Gentleman Accomptant* appeared. According to Roger the decline of the gentry was due to their negligence in the management of their estates (263) and he wrote this book to point out to them that good

bookkeeping was something indispensable, that it was not so intricate as it was alleged to be and that it was not ungenteel (264). Roger's reticence and lack of self-confidence probably account for the fact that all these writings were published anonymously.

After Roger's death his son Montagu prepared a number of his father's writings for the press and he published successively the *Examen* in 1740, the *Life of ... Francis North* in 1742, the *Life of ... Sir Dudley North ... and of Dr. John North* in 1744 and *A Discourse of the Poor* in 1753. This last tract had probably been written by Roger shortly after the Revolution and just after Dudley's death (265), and Dudley's ideas on the subject are clearly discernible (266). Roger held that the existing poor-laws had pernicious effects and that the system of maintenance of the poor by the parishes made it possible for many people to remain idle (267). In 1824 "a member of the Middle Temple" published from the original manuscript in the Hargrave Collection *A Discourse on the Study of the Laws*. In this small treatise Roger, in a very detailed way, suggested a course of study for those who wanted to take up the profession of the law (268). The *Autobiography* of Roger North, of which only an extract had appeared in print before (269), was edited by Dr. Augustus Jessopp in 1887. Apart from the *Lives*, Roger's writings on music have received most attention from scholars so far. In 1846 E.F. Rimbault brought out an edition of Roger's *Memoirs of Musick*, Hilda Andrews published *The Musicall Grammarian* in 1925 and in 1959 John Wilson edited a large part of all the music manuscripts in *Roger North on Music* (270).

If one adopts Houghton's description of virtuosity that "painting, antiquities and science are the major concerns", Roger North fully fits that description (271). The following sentence taken from the *Autobiography* shows the way in which various fields of interest were constantly present to Roger's mind: "Thus a life and warmth in the colouring of a picture are well resembled to graces in music, which are not the body but the soul that enlivens it, or as the animal spirits that cannot be seen or felt, but yet make that grand difference between a living and a dead corpse" (272). Roger North combined in him the two different types of virtuoso that could be distinguished in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was at the same time the amateur or dilettante and the serious inquirer of nature (273). There can be no doubt that Roger possessed the virtuoso sensibility; he had "an insatiable desire to know" (274) and the terms in which he spoke about many of his pursuits were those of a lover (275). On the other hand he was very much interested in the practical application of scientific theories for purposes of immediate utility. In Roger's case there was also an obvious relation between his attitude to science and his attitude to art (276); the elements of scientific inquiry and aesthetic appreciation are always simultaneously present in his writings on painting, architecture, music and prose-style. Roger's view of history as a continuous process, and his sense of tradition (277), made him often search for the origin and the historical

development of the subject he was describing. His many writings make it abundantly clear that he was one of the last real virtuosi (278).

One of the least known aspects of Roger's virtuosity is his interest in painting. Through his contacts with Sir Peter Lely, Roger made the acquaintance of several other painters of the time. He was a friend of Ferreris, a Dutch painter who was invited by Lely to come over to England in 1678 and lived in London for some years (279). Sonnius, another Dutchman, worked in Lely's studios and Roger cooperated closely with him in the sale of the Lely-pictures (280). Roger also knew Michael Wright and Henry Tilson, both portrait-painters and the latter a pupil of Lely (281). Tilson, who had spent several years in Italy, sold two of his studies from the Farnese Gallery to Roger and he painted the portraits of Dudley and Roger shortly before his death in 1695 (282). During the 1680s and 1690s Roger built up a collection of some two hundred, mainly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian, English, Dutch and Flemish paintings (283). Several of these were presented to him by Sir Peter Lely, John Lely and Sir Robert Gayer, who was a recognised authority on pictures (284). Roger also bought paintings on a wide scale from individuals and at auctions and coffee-houses. His brother Dudley sometimes purchased paintings for him at the Custom-house and he acquired many Italian and Flemish paintings through his brother Montagu who had bought a large number of these at Marseilles and Calais in 1693 (285). Before his marriage Roger kept his pictures at the Middle Temple and at Lely's Covent Garden house, but at the end of the 1690s he began to transfer them to Rougham (286). After 1700 he does not seem to have bought so many paintings any more but his interest in the subject remained. From the volumes on perspective it appears that he had read several standard works such as Vasari and Dürer, and that he was familiar with the writings of the English portrait-painter Jonathan Richardson (287). In these volumes he not only discusses proportion, foreshortening, light and colours, but also expresses his opinion of the artistic value of the paintings he describes. He gives a brief survey of the origin of sculpture and painting in Greece and Italy, and deals with three categories of painting at some length, the portrait, landscapes and views, and history-painting, the last of which he regards as the "consummation of perfection In that art" (288). The taste for painting had always been common in the North family and hence it is not strange that Roger became a collector and acquired a thorough knowledge of Renaissance and seventeenth-century painting.

His love of building has already been referred to and has also received some attention from scholars (289). Roger had read widely on the subject, he was familiar with all the important works of architecture of his time and he knew Wren, Hooke and May personally. He wrote two treatises on building, one in the early 1690s and the other more than thirty years later (290). In both, but especially in the second, he gives much attention to very practical matters such as building-materials and the best way to construct chimneys (291). Although

he appreciated Wren and some other contemporary architects, he preferred the "Grand maniere" of Inigo Jones (292) and he regretted that the modern country seats no longer had the grandeur and stateliness of former days (293) Roger did not consider himself an architect "If I have any knowledge of building I must owne it to ly in the Reforming part I doe Not p[r]tend Either to Great publik designes, Nor New models of Great houses" (294) Nevertheless Roger made some designs of London city-houses (295) and he also drew up a "Project of Rebuilding" Whitehall after it had been largely destroyed by fire in January 1698 (296)

Closely related to his interest in perspective and building was his passion for mechanical inventions All his life Roger retained something of that boyish enthusiasm for constructing gimcracks which he had shown at Thetford school Once he made gunpowder pellets wetted in liquid phosphorus and gave them to a courtier to be shown to Charles II "who loved philosoficall tricks" (297) Before the Revolution Roger knew several instrument-makers in London (298), and in 1700 he employed John Hadley, a well-known mechanic, to construct a coffee-mill for him (299) Sir Henry Sheeres, who had been engineer at Tangier for fourteen years and returned to England in 1684, was one of the persons Roger discussed technical matters with (300) Roger was well informed about the experiments and inventions of Torricelli, the Accademia del Cimento, Boyle, Morland and Savery (301) The reconstruction of Rougham gave him many opportunities to practise this hobby and he invented various useful devices at the estate A good example is his "Invention to keep an houssink from stinking, or recoiling back y[e] air of a draught" (302) Barometers and baroscopes always fascinated him and he continually experimented with them (303), trying to enhance their reliability In connection with this he familiarized himself with the work of Dr Halley and made a study of meteorology Apart from writing voluminously on the construction and use of the barometer and baroscope he also composed a great number of aphorisms and rules of weather-prognostication (304)

Roger's antiquarian bent comes out best in his study of etymology He had always been interested in the subject and he had a great reverence for scholarship in this field (305) Yet it was not till he was about fifty that he began to apply himself thoroughly to the study of etymology, teaching himself Anglo-Saxon and translating Glanville in the evenings (306) Hickes, working at his *Thesaurus*, stimulated Roger to research into the origin and early periods of the law and Roger sent his findings to Hickes and consulted him on questions he could not solve (307) In his opinion a distinction should be made between ordinary and extended etymology and he himself aimed at being a student of the latter category (308) Roger felt contempt for a "meer putcase" and regarded the study of the antiquities of the law as indispensable for a lawyer "one that is busied only aloft In the wrangling part of y[e] law, is like one that lives among weathercocks, he may know where y[e] wind sits but Nothing of

that susteins y^{e} fabrick. And if wee Reflect wee shall find that the study of antiquity, Especially In y^{e} law, Nay all Necessary p^{r}paration for y^{e} study of it, Resolves Into Etimology, or a knowledge of words, their radix, derivation & composition" (309). In his essays Roger deals extensively with all previous attempts of lawyers in etymology and the work of antiquaries in this field (310). He regrets that many antiquaries are too much bent on collecting and do not draw any conclusions from their material (311). He singles out for special praise Spelman, Du Fresne, Dugdale, Selden, Brady, Somner and Hickes and makes rather negative remarks on Cowell and Rymer (312). Roger also considered etymology necessary for the study of historical records: "Surely It is y^{e} Greatest service In the way of History to provide that ancient formes, words & Expressions be fully knowne! All w^{ch} is owing mostly to the painefull Etimologist" (313). In his "Conjecturall Etimologys" he made an attempt at an etymological dictionary (314) and at the back of *The Gentleman Accomptant* he gives an etymological glossary of terms and expressions used in the book (315).

Between 1697 and 1712 eight children were born to the Norths, one of which died in infancy. There were two sons, Roger and Montagu, and five daughters, Elisabeth, Ann, Mary, Catherine and Christian. All the children survived their father and mother, although the eldest and the two youngest daughters died, unmarried, shortly after their father (316). Roger's wife died some years before her husband but the exact date of her death is not known; she was still alive in April 1728 (317), but she was not mentioned in Roger's will of October 1730 (318). Roger himself died on 1 March 1734 (319), leaving the estate to his eldest son Roger. Rougham remained the property of the North family throughout the years and the present owner, Mr. Roger North, is a lineal descendant of the Roger North who forms the subject of this study. Upon Roger's death the estate at Ashwicken was divided among the other children. The Wrights of Downham in Suffolk – Thomas Wright had married Roger's daughter Ann – possessed Ashwicken till 1754, when the estate was sold (320). Roger's daughter Mary married Henry L'Estrange, a younger son of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, the well-known Norfolk nonjuror and friend of Roger North (321). The eldest son Roger spent some years at the Middle Temple and several years at Trinity College Cambridge without taking a degree (322). He lived at Rougham for the rest of his life and shared some of the interests of his father (323). Montagu, who from birth was destined by his parents for the church (324), studied at Jesus College Cambridge, took a B.A. and M.A. degree, and lived most of his life as a country rector in Suffolk. In 1767 he received a D.D. degree and in 1775 he was appointed Canon of Windsor (325). Roger North seems to have felt closer to his youngest son than to his eldest and he very probably left Montagu all his manuscript writings (326).

CHAPTER II

ROGER NORTH ON SCIENCE

The fact that about one third of all the unpublished manuscript material of Roger North consists of writings on scientific subjects shows that science was one of his main interests (1). For this reason, and for other reasons, which, I hope, will become clear in the course of this chapter, I think that I am justified in devoting a separate discussion to Roger North's views on science, basing myself on an examination of all his published (2) and unpublished writings which have a bearing on the subject of science in its widest sense. Roger's scientific writings were composed over a period of approximately forty years, from the beginning of the 1690s to the end of the 1720s, although the bulk of them belongs to the eighteenth century (3). The date of composition of a specific essay or treatise is of course an important factor in assessing the value of the theory advanced in it, and this is especially true for this period, in which new theories and discoveries rapidly succeeded each other. Unfortunately the date of composition of most of Roger North's scientific writings can only be indicated approximately (4). Even when it is possible to date an essay or treatise more or less exactly on the basis of internal evidence, there is the problem of not knowing whether all the essays or treatises in one manuscript were written at the same time, because it is obvious that often many essays and treatises within one manuscript do not belong together, or rather that they were not arranged by Roger North himself in the way in which we find them now (5). Roger's scientific writings are on the whole in a rather confused state. Just as with his writings on other subjects, a considerable part of them consists of various finished and unfinished drafts of the same essay or treatise, and it is very often difficult to establish the exact relation between the several versions. Yet all this is less of a problem for a discussion of Roger's views on science than it would appear to be at first sight, because I am convinced that his views did not materially change throughout this long period. Hence it is justifiable to treat his scientific theories as one fairly stable body. I intend first to deal briefly with Roger's education in science and the main formative influences on him in this respect. Then I will proceed to a discussion of his views on science in general, and after that I will concentrate on his treatment of some particular branches of science.

Roger North's early interest in mechanical contrivances has already been mentioned (6). During the year which he spent at home before going up to Cambridge in October 1667, he tried to construct an organ according to a design of his own (7), and he taught himself the art of dialling (8), a hobby which was at the time "a typical introduction to the mathematical arts" (9). When he left home for Cambridge his brother Francis presented him with some simple mathematical instruments and with a copy of John Speidell's *Geometrical Extraction* (10), a book which Roger later recommended as a suitable introduction for those who wanted to learn the art of perspective (11). Till now Roger had not read any scientific books, if we leave out of account the works on logic which he had studied at home with his father (12). At Cambridge Roger studied, without much pleasure, the physics of Magirus and Sennertus, both Aristotelian texts (13), and also "a book of atomical philosophy, after Democritus", which he found more interesting (14). Roger importuned his brother John to introduce him to the subject of mathematics, and John advised him to start with the first six books of Euclid in Fournier's edition. Euclid's geometry interested Roger so much that he went on to Barrow's text-books on Euclid, and he was impressed by Barrow's lucid explanations (15). Made inquisitive by the reports about Descartes that circulated at Cambridge, Roger started to read his works, and the impact of Descartes's theories upon young Roger becomes clear from the following almost rhapsodical account:

> Nothing more Gained on My Judgem^{t}, as to his peice de Methodo, but the rule of Not building upon doubdts, but first to find out w^{t} is most clear, & thence as from a foundation, proceed to other Matters as farr as you can walk with like clearness. Then for his principles, the shaking off qualitys, w^{ch} terme confesseth Ignorance, and Reducing all things to longum latum & profundum, his notion of Motion as Nothing in itself, but as there is Regard to y^{e} stations & positions of other bodys. And then His laws on motion. All w^{ch} are Improvem^{ts} Introduct I may say Invented in philosophy by that Great man (16).

Roger found the theories of Descartes, which he, as he says, mastered only after a long struggle (17), startlingly new and very stimulating. After he had gone to London to take up the study of the Common Law at the Middle Temple there was sufficient spare time for him to indulge his taste for the new science. He read Newton's paper on light and colours presented to the Royal Society in 1672 (18), and he enjoyed immensely Wilkins's *Mathematicall Magick*, especially the second part, *Daedalus* (19). The rebuilding of the Middle Temple after the fire of 1678 made him resort to books on the theory of architecture and perspective (20). The purely theoretical side of mathematics did not appeal to him, and he found much of it to be beyond him (21). During these years he tried to learn algebra and he read for this purpose "Dr Wallis History of Algebra, M^{r} Oughtreds clavis, w^{ch} to say truth is like y^{e} Illiad in a nutshell and Jaults new method" (22). There is no further information on the question which other

books he read in these years before his retirement to Rougham, but it can safely be assumed that his keen interest in the new science led him to read widely.

Personal inclination was of course the most important element in shaping Roger's interest in science, but the milieu to which he belonged also played a great role in this respect. At Cambridge John North was on familiar terms with Isaac Barrow (23) and Roger may well have met Barrow occasionally, because the two brothers lived together in one room (24). John North was acquainted with the works of Bacon and Descartes (25), and these two scientists were often subject of discussion between the brothers, who disagreed as to their relative merits (26). Francis North had a highly stimulating influence on Roger's interest in science. Francis himself was greatly interested in hydrostatics, perspective and musical theory, and he published some papers on these subjects; one of these papers was read and commented upon by Newton (27). Francis personally knew Sir John Hoskins, John Werden, John Aubrey, Sir Jonas Moor, John Evelyn and John Flamsteed (28), and moving in this circle, even if only on the margin, must have had its effects on Roger. Dudley North had "a genius towards all sorts of mechanic exercises" (29), and after his return to England in 1680 he and Roger spent many leisure hours together on all kinds of experiments (30). If one looks outside the family circle Roger's acquaintance with Sir Christopher Wren must be mentioned (31), and it is also relevant to remark here that Roger in his capacity of Steward to the See of Canterbury was regularly in contact with Dr. Henry Paman, professor of Physic at Gresham College from 1679 to 1689, and after 1684 Master of the Faculties at Lambeth (32). When Roger went to live at Rougham these contacts came to an end, and from now on he was more and more driven back on books as a source of information.

Till now I have used the terms "science" and "scientific" in a very wide and general sense, but, when starting the discussion of Roger North's views in this field, it is time for us to pay some attention to the terminology of Roger himself. He speaks of the "new science", a term used in the seventeenth century to distinguish contemporary science from scholastic science, and of "natural philosophy". At that time the various branches of science were not very clearly distinguished and defined, nor was there a sharp distinction between philosophy in the modern sense of the word and "natural philosophy" (33). Roger's use of the term "natural philosophy" is not consistent and illustrates the absence of exact lines of demarcation in the fields of science and philosophy. Sometimes the term is used by him as a collective term comprising all the branches of natural science, but also parts of what would now be called philosophy and psychology; at other times "natural philosophy" has a much more limited meaning and then the terms "physiology" and "physics" are sometimes used along with it (34). "Natural philosophy" in this last sense is almost always deliberately opposed by Roger to mathematics.

One of the aspects of natural philosophy which Thomas Sprat emphasizes in his *History of the Royal Society* is its neutrality, its freedom from the corruptions pertaining to the disputes about religious and civil affairs (35). Sprat was of course making this point with the late upheavals of the Civil War and the Interregnum very much in mind. When Roger North retired from public life and went to live at Rougham, he was full of disillusionment and bitterness about the political developments during James's reign, culminating in William's usurpation of the throne. The study of natural philosophy was now a welcome opportunity for diverting his thoughts from all these unpleasant events. Like Sprat Roger was attracted by the aspect of neutrality and incorruptibility of natural philosophy (36), but to Roger natural philosophy was not merely neutral; he saw in it, or perhaps it is better to say that he wanted to see in it, something more positive, an influence which, once the spirit of natural philosophy had permeated men's way of looking at things, would affect them even morally and would thus prevent in future such outbreaks of folly as the late revolution had been. Roger came to see the pursuit of natural philosophy in moral terms, it was the natural philosopher's task "to weed out Error, delusion & prjudice from ye roots ... and by so doing wee see many advance themselves in humanity above other Men, as much as human nature is above beasts" (37). He contended that men who had mastered the method and acquired the habit of natural philosophy would achieve a general power of discrimination and would be less liable to err in other fields of life (38). Roger then applies this idea more specifically to his own experiences in the previous years. "Such a one Shall know ye folly of knavery & baseness, the maddness of sedition, the paines of Governemt, The vanity of lys & ye treachery of ambition" (39). These passages were most probably written in the early 1690s (40), and it is clear that the emotional tone of the statements and the high claims which he makes for natural philosophy here, were to a large extent due to his state of mind at the time. Most of his subsequent remarks about the function of natural philosophy are less loaded, probably because he came to realize that natural philosophy would not have the far-reaching effects which he had so fervently desired for it, and also because his own ventures in the field of natural philosophy were less successful than he had hoped they would be.

In accordance with his habit in other subjects Roger more than once gives a brief history of natural philosophy (41). The theories of the atomists, Aristotle and the peripatetics (42) are disposed of by him in the usual way, as being a mere science of words and an indulging in precarious hypotheses. Times began to brighten up for natural philosophy when some enlightened spirits such as Bacon, Ramus, Gilbert and Gassendi (43) appeared on the scene, but it was Descartes who definitively overthrew Aristotelian science by "wholly confounding that phalanx of words" (44). Roger looked upon Descartes as "having Restored If not Invented ye true Methods of philosofizing" (45), and his own aims in natural philosophy were clearly inspired by the example of Descartes.

For many years Roger saw it as his great ideal to compose "a system of nature, upon the Cartesian or rather mechanical principles, believing all the common phenomena of nature might be resolved into them" (46). Roger's use of the word "mechanical" is not always very exact. The word is used by him both in a rather loose way in the meaning of "built on clear and indubitable principles" (47), and in the specific sense of regarding natural phenomena as "governed by the rules of mechanism". It seems to me that in the just quoted sentence the second meaning is primarily intended although the first is applicable as well. In Roger's opinion no one before him had ever written such a comprehensive work; Descartes had been the first to introduce the concept of mechanism, Boyle had written a treatise in praise of the mechanical hypothesis (48) and some others had dealt with mechanics, but none had based the entire body of natural philosophy on mechanical principles (49). The projected work was to consist of five parts dealing respectively with single bodies, the whole world, animal life, solutions of particular natural phenomena, and arts and sciences such as architecture and perspective (50). Part of Roger's aim in composing such a system was to popularize the findings of the great scientists, because the general public were still largely ignorant in this respect and subject to delusions and errors of sense (51). Roger also thought that the style of many writers on natural philosophy was needlessly intricate and mysterious, and he set himself the task to present his material simply, lucidly and in ordinary English (52). Roger never accomplished his great scheme and in the first chapter I gave as a reason for this failure his isolation and the impossibility of testing his ideas in contacts with others (53). There was, however, a more important reason; after a number of years Roger came to the sad conclusion that "I had from all that pains no other profit than a discovery that I did not understand so much as I thought I did, and that my style (if it might be called such) was unnatural, affected, and obscure" (54).

Roger greatly preferred natural philosophy to all other branches of science (55). The reason he gives for this preference shows clearly how much of the spirit of the amateur there is about his approach to natural philosophy: "... of all these ways of Improving y^{e} Mind by science I have chose that of Naturall philosofy ffor my diversion as well as study, and my reason ffor it is that of all others it is what Nature leads directly to and advanceth in us by continual degrees more or less ffrom the first opening our Eyes In y^{e} world to the finall closing them againe" (56). For Roger natural philosophy was the primary science with metaphysics as its foundation and mathematics as "but a branch of it" (57). The chief aim of natural philosophy is to find out the difference between things and appearances, and to conquer the prejudices of most people who "conclude from their sence to the Intrinsick Essence of the worlds furniture" (58). Roger divides natural philosophy into general and particular, and he attaches greater importance to the former than to the latter. In Roger's opinion the defect of our capacities makes it impossible for us to give complete proofs

of those particular instances of natural philosophy which are outside the range of immediate sense, and the elementary state of nature is so completely hidden in minuteness that we had better refrain from advancing any theories about it. General natural philosophy comprises the basic principles of which all things are composed, the varieties in the working of these principles, a number of phenomena produced by these principles, the consideration of our nature, the manner of perception and the errors in sense-perception (59).

The principles of natural philosophy are, in Roger's opinion, not the forms and qualities of the Aristotelians, not the materia prima et secunda of Descartes, not the elements of the chemical scientists and certainly not the vires of Newton (60). For Roger the whole state of nature, really existent and independent of our perception and imagination, is reducible to one single principle: matter extended (61). Apart from its only universal property, impenetrability, matter has no intrinsic values "to betray us Into qualitys" (62), and properties like number, shape and motion are only different modes of extension (63). Roger keeps repeating, in opposition to Newton, that matter extended and impenetrable is the only principium naturalis philosophiae (64). In natural philosophy a distinction should be made between "things" or "essences", which have real existence, and "events", which are uncertain; it is the task of the natural philosopher to sever the realities of things from the shapes under which the things present themselves to us (65). Roger complains that nowadays it has become the fashion – and he obviously has Newton and the Newtonians in mind – to ignore the prudent rule of not multiplying principles, "ffor Now every thing that is Not distinctly & Mechanically Explicated (of wch there will Ever be plenty) is Made a peculiar principle or Naturall Essence with certein propertys affixt to it, whereby all the crypta of nature are disclosed" (66). The underlying cause of remarks like this was Roger's fear that the relatively simple and lucid explanation of nature in terms of matter and motion by Descartes, to which he adhered, was threatened by the introduction of all kinds of hazy and uncontrollable qualities.

In his discussion of the method to be adopted in natural philosophy Roger shows himself a great admirer of Descartes's *Discourse on Method* (67). He calls Descartes's methodical doubt "... an artfull way of laying aside prejudice" (68), and says that he himself will look back and candidly examine all natural philosophy in order to separate indubitable truth from false opinion and conjecture, and that he will not rely on anything that admits of doubt (69). "I adhere to this method first of determining what is certainly true so farr as our nature is Capable to Examine or Know, and then derive what knowledge wee can from that, and Not divert to any Supposita not So verifyed... therefore all that can be prtended too is a clear knowledg of things distinguishable & then to argue from conformity or probability to what is Indistinguishable" (70). Incidentally, when dealing with Descartes's method and emphasizing the necessity to start the search for knowledge from clear and distinct prin-

ciples, Roger curiously, and I do not think very convincingly, tries to fuse those two so very different strands in him, his interest in science and his traditionalism, by stating that "the very authority of all tradition is Made good by arguments drawne from such", that is, clear and distinct principles (71). In this process of trying to arrive at certain knowledge in natural philosophy Roger posited certain fixed rules and used them as instruments: "ex nihilo nihil fit", "our senses are true", "a true Judgm^{t} of objects may be made", "when all tryalls and consequences agree the Conclusion is true", and "If any thing, or the termes by w^{ch} it is Exprest, are clearly & distinctly understood, all the consequences may be made Intelligible" (72). One of the great debates concerning scientific method in the seventeenth century was the question whether in natural philosophy one ought to proceed by means of analysis or synthesis, or to use the modern terms, by induction or deduction (73). Descartes's ideal as put forward in his *Discourse on Method* was that of deduction, although he did not entirely rule out experience and experiment in natural philosophy (74). In the 31st Query to the *Opticks* Newton rejected the synthetic method and asserted that both in mathematics and in natural philosophy the analytic method ought to be the starting-point of all investigation (75). Roger North sides with Descartes against Newton; he believes that first the basic principles are to be secured, for example the plenum and vortication (76), and that then the explanation of natural phenomena should take place on the basis of these stated principles (77).

It is a commonplace of the history of science and philosophy in the seventeenth century that one can distinguish two principal lines of approach in this field, on the one hand the rationalist and mathematical one, on the other hand the empirical one (78). Roger North's position with respect to these two categories is rather ambiguous. His attitude towards the question of synthesis versus analysis would seem to place him in the rationalist category, but I think that on other grounds this view of his position is hardly tenable and it may even be asserted that he does not properly belong to either category. The following passages suggest something of his views in this respect. He refers denigratingly to "the late sect of philosofers who renounce all propositions, which doe Not fall under Experiment or demonstration" (79). When discussing Newton's theory about the angle of reflection Roger objects: "I doe Not affect it as going too farr about, for what may be had Neerer home, besides I choos rather probable proofs from the Imediate consideration of Nature, w^{ch} he waives as phisicall, then demonstrations out of the penetralia of Algebraick calculation" (80). I will now first examine Roger's attitude towards mathematics and its role in natural philosophy, and after that discuss his view of the place of experiment.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, and especially after the publication of Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in 1687, mathematics began to gain a great prestige, and not only with the small group of specialists but also in wider social circles. Newton's way of applying mathematical methods to physics gradually became accepted by many as the only

adequate way of dealing with physics. From now on mathematics played a more and more important role as an internal factor in various sciences, and the non-mathematical sciences such as biology and chemistry suffered a corresponding decline (81). A good indication of the increased prestige of mathematics at the time is "An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning", written by John Arbuthnot in 1700 (82). The "Essay" is one long eulogy on mathematics and the mathematical method. Arbuthnot foresees that, once the mathematical method will be consistently applied to the various sciences, very much more of nature will be disclosed. He argues that at present in the greater part of the other sciences a form of reasoning is used which is at best only probable, whereas mathematics provides perfect certainty. In his opinion "a natural philosopher without mathematics is a very odd sort of person, that reasons about things that have bulk, figure, motion, number, weight &c., without arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, statics &c." (83). Apart from being an indication of the new prestige of mathematics at the time, this essay by a young medical man contributed greatly to the spread of the belief in mathematics as the key study for other sciences (84).

Roger North's attitude towards mathematics was diametrically opposed to that of Arbuthnot. It is true, Roger does not deny that occasionally it can be useful, but the general tenor of his remarks on mathematics is that it is abstruse and mere theorizing (85). He often makes a sharp division between mathematics and natural philosophy, affirming that there is no common ground between the two subjects (86). Nothing in nature is mathematically exact and the exactness which the mathematicians use is only supposed, but it is not actually found anywhere in nature (87). Really existing things are the subject of natural philosophy whereas mathematics deals in theoretical possibilities (88). For Roger mathematics as a formal science is not to be squared with natural philosophy where propositions can only be contingently true; hence he believes that the natural world does not admit a mathematical model of interpretation. He denies that mathematics and natural philosophy have any principles in common and he therefore calls the title of Newton's greatest work "a very blunder" (89) and "fallacious" (90). Moreover in that work certain vague powers are turned into principles: "And if the chimeras may be conceipted Mensurable, and so may be added substracted Multiplyed devided &c wee have the principia Naturalis philosofiae mathematica, and No room left for dispute. In this manner under the title of powers (anciently Called Qualitys) all Natural science is drowned in analitick" (91). The argument that in natural philosophy full demonstration is never reached is also used by Roger but not at all in the depreciatory manner in which Arbuthnot, and for that matter several of his contemporaries, used it (92). The propositions of natural philosophy may lack the absolute certainty of mathematical propositions, but they are not therefore to be abandoned, because they are sufficiently convincing in showing a high degree of probability (93). One of the reasons Roger gives for

the fact that many people exalt mathematics above natural philosophy is that in the latter the opposite extremes of immensity and minuteness can never be examined (94) Roger constantly repeats that natural philosophy is more "worthy" and "lofty" than mathematics because the knowledge of things is always more valuable than the knowledge of measures (95) It is perhaps interesting to note here that suchlike remarks in favour of natural philosophy had been made by Descartes, although not in such a strong form, in one of the *Rules for the Direction of the Mind* Descartes calls the physical sciences "altiores" than mathematics (96)

Roger's hostility to mathematics had also something to do with his inability to cope with the more theoretical parts of the subject, he more than once refers to Wallis's calculations on the centre of gravity in a way which clearly shows that this kind of algebra is far too intricate for him (97) It is therefore rather ironical to find that Roger in his attempts to play down the importance of mathematics, arrives at the statement, by a curious way of reasoning, that mathematics is a "defect" (98) With such remarks Roger reacted against the adulatory accounts of those who hailed mathematics as the primary science Roger maintains that far from being a triumph of the human mind the mathematical sciences show that the capacity of the human mind is defective in needing such devices (99) He calls mathematics "no other but measure" (100) and he attacks especially Malebranche for his excessive praise of human capacity as shown in mathematics (101) Very revealing is his attitude towards the use of geometric and algebraic calculations in natural philosophy, he regards them as not strictly necessary, as something one can either do or leave (102) Apart from thinking mathematics not applicable to natural philosophy, Roger was also convinced - and he was obviously on firmer ground here - that the process of arguing "more geometrico" was completely inappropriate for subjects like religion, politics and morality (103) He inveighs against Samuel Clarke for using this method in his Boyle Lecture *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* (104) What is striking in most of Roger's remarks on mathematics is the emotional tone in which mathematics and mathematicians are attacked Roger speaks of Newton as "besotted to" the methods of geometry (105), and he frequently uses the phrase "the Geometrick faction" (106), he even sees a kind of plot afoot, under Newton's guidance, to "Reduce all speculation to y^{e} compass of Geometry" (107) Roger felt threatened by the ascendancy of mathematics He had a very reverent attitude towards the natural world as created by God, and he looked upon mathematics as the product of human artificiality and upon its application to natural philosophy as an, ultimately, improper way of dealing with the natural world

Although Roger often says that it is the duty of every natural philosopher to multiply observations as much as he can and that experiment is the best and surest guide in physical inquiries (108), these statements on the place of experiment in natural philosophy cannot just be taken at face-value Roger dis-

tinguishes two kinds of experiments, on the one hand the careful and skilful observation of common occurrences which everyone who keeps his eyes open can practise, and on the other hand "Nice and Subtile" experiments about the usefulness of which he is rather sceptical and which he leaves to the investigators of the Royal Society (109). He thinks it wrong to rely exclusively on experiments for the acquisition of new knowledge; in natural philosophy a proposition should not be admitted as true "because it fitts a phaenomenon or two, but only as it is consequentiall of some Indisputable principles" (110). Certain areas of natural philosophy such as the composition and minute actions of elementary matter are regarded by Roger as simply not experimentable (111). It is his opinion that "Nice and Subtile" experiments have yielded little so far. The microscope which was praised highly by many as a powerful instrument in the process of laying bare nature (112), receives a far less enthusiastic tribute from Roger (113). His main objection is that microscopical investigation has not yet proved to be of great practical value (114) and that it has not given any insight into "any one principle of animall life or vegetation" (115). In a very condescending way Roger refers to the microscopical work of Hooke, Malpighi, and Grew as having revealed only some "scraps of nature" (116). He attaches more importance to the experiments of Boyle and the researchers of the Accademia del Cimento because they are on the whole useful and have a wider relevance (117). Roger mentions Torricelli's experiments with the barometer as the only really great success in experimenting (118). Roger himself hardly undertook any serious experiments, and this, and his attitude towards experimenting in general, was due to the fact that he was not primarily interested in the question how things operate exactly: "wee have capacity & encouragem^{t} to Inquire as to y^{e} quid of Every thing, but as to y^{e} quomodo striktly speaking wee may Inquire Indeed, but can find out plainely Nothing" (119). Roger was only prepared to admit experiment as a valid method in natural philosophy as long as it concerned the common everyday experiments referred to above. Here again it is hard to avoid the impression that Roger, in his low estimation of experiments, consciously or unconsciously followed Descartes (120).

When Roger discusses the works and ideas of his brother John he calls him "an idolizer of experiments and of Lord Bacon" (121). The man who had almost been canonized by Sprat (122), was not one of Roger's heroes. He blames Bacon for turning natural philosophy into "a sort of logicallity, I mean affected terms, Nominations, Enumerations", and thus falling into the very abuse which he tried to do away with in his reform of natural philosophy (123). In Roger's view Bacon cannot even be called a real reformer because he did not carry out the plans he made (124). Bacon's procedure of laying aside all hypotheses and staking all on experiments is rejected by Roger (125). Bacon underrated the quantity of experimentable phenomena (126), and Roger was right in criticizing Bacon's assumption that within a relatively short time a perfect comprehensive theory of nature could be constructed on the basis of

all the experiments made. The Royal Society was modelled on the ideas advanced by Bacon, and Roger is on the whole not very flattering in his remarks about it. He does not think very highly of scientific societies in general and holds that all the great and heroic discoveries were made by individual men of genius (127). This attitude was, I think, to some extent caused by his instinctive distrust of groups and organizations. Roger gives a really devastating picture of the scientific societies of his time: "the proceedings of these Incorporate societys flagg, and the readers & pʳsidents places goe favour, and their performances Meer lip-labour, the publik Revenues turne[d] to private uses, the solemne meetings for conference In matters of philosofy, spent in wrangling about their several cheats, and In short the whole Integrity & use of the society corrupt and lost" (128). This is obviously the account of a very disappointed man and it is likely that one of the causes of this feeling of disappointment was Roger's realization that the high hopes he had cherished of natural philosophy and of its function in people's lives turned out to be vain. Roger's sketch of the scientific societies of his time is of course one-sided, although it is an established fact that there were periods at the end of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century when the Royal Society was at a very low ebb and when many of its activities could not but be called trifling (129).

I will now proceed to deal with the basic notions underlying Roger's view of the natural world and I will examine to what degree this view was a mechanistic one. In most of these basic notions Roger was a genuine Cartesian (130). He equated matter or body with extension; he regarded motion, time and space as relative; he believed in a plenum and rejected a vacuum; he accepted the distinction between primary and secondary qualities of matter and also the dualism of body and soul, identifying soul with the thinking faculty (131).

As we have seen before, Roger regarded matter as the one essential, universal and really existent substance in the world (132). This matter or body, with its property of impenetrability, fills the whole universe and is equal with extension. Various English thinkers rejected the Cartesian identification of matter and extension; Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, who was anxious to secure the reality of spirit in the face of Hobbes's materialism and Descartes's mechanism, held that matter is not only extended but that it is endowed with sensible qualities, and he even went so far as to state that spirit is extended (133). Roger adopts Descartes's idea of the infinite divisibility of matter; he maintains, although he is very apologetic about venturing into this field at all (134), that there is an actual infinity of smallness and he dismisses the concept of atoms: "... therefore to determine that the parts of Matter or body are Either smooth, plaine, spherical, or in any other manner adjusted, is not only to Conclude upon fancy, without reason, but also against the cours of things Experienc't in yᵉ world" (135). He presumes that the universe is compounded of "infinitys unequall, dissimilar & of incommensurate particularitys" (136). Concerning the extent of matter or space Roger's statements are not consistent; on the

whole he believes that matter or space is infinitely extensible, but is not actually infinitely extended (137). For the infinite extendibility of matter he uses an argument similar to the one used by Fontenelle in his *Plurality of Worlds*, that it adds to the glory of the Creator (138). Roger's caution on this point was probably caused by the same consideration that made Descartes choose the term "indefinite" extension, the consideration that one cannot assign infinity, a divine attribute, to matter (139). As to the cohesion of matter Roger calls Descartes's the first good theory on the subject (140), although he is not satisfied with it himself (141). He believes that the plenitude of the world plays a great role in cohesion (142) and he attributes the contact to "a sort of hamosity" of the parts of matter (143). Roger rejects Newton's view that the principle of attraction is responsible for cohesion (144).

In Roger's opinion all the operations in nature which we can examine are effected by mechanical causes, that is to say by matter in motion; he maintains, with Descartes, that all motion in the world is due to "percussion", the striking of bodies upon each other (145). I will return later in this chapter to the reservation implied in the subclause "which we can examine" (146). Descartes's concept of motion is praised by Roger as his masterpiece (147), although he thinks Descartes wrong in giving a reality to motion and thus turning it into a kind of quality apart from matter (148). Descartes's writings on the subject of motion show a lack of uniformity which makes Roger's strictures understandable. In his book *The World* Descartes asserted, for metaphysical reasons (149), that the total quantity of motion in the universe always remains the same, and when elaborating upon this idea of the conservation of motion he created the impression of adhering to a view of motion as being a separate quality. In the *Principles of Philosophy*, however, motion is presented by Descartes as a mode of matter, and nothing in itself (150). Roger insists that motion is purely relative, "Nothing but the chang of position of materiall parts with Respect to Each other" (151). Newton's distinction between "motus verus" and "motus relativus" is treated with scorn by Roger (152). Similarly, he calls Newton's distinction between relative and absolute space and time "specious ... but ... scolastick & trifling" (153). For Roger time does not exist apart from body; time is "but the account of motion and that measured by space", or, as he puts it elsewhere, time is "just a comparison of velocitys" (154). Space is not something fixed and absolute, and space and time do not have a necessary existence (155). Roger considers it impious to make space and time coexistent and coeternal with God, and he approvingly refers to Nathaniel Fairfax's attack on this notion as expressed by Samuel Parker in his *Tentamina de Deo* (156). Roger's abhorrence of Newton's absolute space and time was shared by several scientists and philosophers at the time, the most prominent of whom were Huygens and Leibniz (157).

Following Descartes Roger assumes that the universe is entirely filled with a dense fluid, an ethereal substance, which is in a state of perpetual agitation,

with all the different parts and corpuscles of various sizes operating upon each other by means of impulses. He does not allow any force in nature "but what falls out upon collision of bodys" (158). Roger complains that Newton sets up a vacuum and then fills it again with light and all kinds of forces or powers (159), but, he objects, how can light and those forces be communicated through empty space? (160). Moreover, he says, if the mundane space were empty the planets might fly off in all kinds of directions (161). Apart from these physical objections Roger also advances religious arguments against the idea of a vacuum. He is convinced that the idea of plenitude can be used for pious purposes far better than the idea of vacuity (162), for what is a vacuum "but a chasme, Lacune or defect In y^{e} frame of y^{e} world" (163), which would detract from the omnipotence and perfection of the Creator (164). Roger applauded Torricelli's barometric experiments (165), but this does not mean that he accepted the notion of a vacuum above the fluid in the barometer. Several scientists in the seventeenth century, including Descartes, maintained that the space above the column of mercury was not a real vacuum (166). Roger was certainly not alone in adhering to the theory of plenitude at the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century; Huygens and Leibniz also maintained the plenum against Newton's vacuum, and like Roger they rejected attraction, a phenomenon closely related to the theory of a vacuum (167).

When Newton formulated his theory of attraction in the *Principia*, he took great pains to make it clear that he did not regard the attractive force as an inherent property of matter, but as a mathematical force, the physical cause of which was yet unknown (168). However, many followers of Newton, notably Roger Cotes, who wrote the preface to the second edition of the *Principia* which appeared in 1713 (169), misinterpreted Newton's view of attraction in that they turned it into a physical force (170). Hence it is not strange that Roger North and several of his contemporaries believed that Newton, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, had postulated attraction as a universal property of matter. Roger is convinced that "Such Metaphisicall freedomes as these" (171) will bring natural philosophy into contempt. The "attractive sect", as he significantly calls Newton and his followers (172), affixes qualities to matter, but matter has no qualities apart from impenetrability. Newton takes symptoms or effects for principles, but, Roger asserts, one cannot just argue from effects to certain causes because different causes may have the same effects (173). "Attraction" is not a word becoming mathematicians who always pride themselves on their exact calculations and the complete demonstrability of their propositions (174), and Roger angrily remarks that those mathematicians who are so prone to condemn hypotheses have themselves set up an egregious one (175). He even suggests that the champions of attraction have served themselves of "the deliria" of van Helmont (176), "this phantasticall phisitian ... who Imputes the consequence of systematized matter in Motion, that is separations

and coagulums, to a volition, then wch Nothing is or Can be More Rediculous" (177). Roger accuses Newton and the Newtonians of deliberately trying to make the idea of attraction go down better by using the term "gravitate towards" (178). Roger's aversion to the theory of attraction was also caused by his fear that this theory was prejudicial to religion. He thinks that the affixing of such a force to matter will do away with the distinction between matter and spirit, and will make it possible for atheists to say, why may not matter think? (179). It was not only attraction, but also the centripetal, centrifugal, inertial forces and the principle of density and rarity assumed by Newton that were rejected by Roger as hypothetical and as in no way really existing qualities of matter (180). For similar reasons Roger attacks the French priest Edmé Mariotte who affirmed elasticity to be a principle common to all bodies, and Roger hints that in the *Opticks* Newton made use of Mariotte's theory (181). An explanation of natural phenomena by means of all these forces and principles savours, for Roger, far too much of artificial intricacy; he sees the products of nature as "Comonly simple and Not, like clock work complext, as If a sorry Mechanick & not almighty wisdom had ye Contrivance of ye Heavens" (182). Roger really believed that this way of practising natural philosophy set the world back into scholastic darkness again. This reaction was understandable for, as Marie Boas puts it, "Contemporary mechanically minded scientists were ... reluctant to admit anything approaching the recently outmoded methods of explanation" (183). Like Descartes and Huygens, Roger was convinced that gravitation could be explained mechanically. He holds that gravitation is caused by an exterior force "by way of ... Complex Movemts or promiscuous action of minute matter" (184).

In spite of his acceptance of many of the main tenets of a mechanistic interpretation of nature, the final impression of Roger as a natural philosopher is not that of a thorough-going mechanist. To Roger a certain part of the natural phenomena is mechanically explainable, another part is not (185). He believes that several phenomena are too intricate or that their causes are too deeply hidden for man with his limited capacities to find out about, and that it is therefore presumptuous to pretend to be able to solve them (186). In fact Roger accuses many contemporary natural philosophers, especially those who think that everything is mathematically solvable, of hubris in their approach to the natural order; he himself takes up an attitude of reverence before the many mysteries of the world. The magnet, electricity, vegetation, the rainbow and several aspects of animal life are adduced by him as examples of phenomena not subject to mechanical rules and as ultimately inexplicable (187). Roger calls Descartes "overprsumptuous" in introducing animal and vegetal life into "ye order of his phisico-Mechanicks" (188), and he contemptuously refers to Descartes's "absurdity of automatizing Brutes" (189). In Roger's opinion animals are not just machines, they have a mortal soul, and he allows them sensations of things and the faculty to anticipate what is good or bad for them (190).

Roger's views are here clearly in line with those of most English natural philosophers hardly any one of whom accepted the idea of the animal machine (191). Another attribute of the animal soul mentioned by Roger is a more peculiar and unusual one; he assumes that the thinking of animals stops at human kind and that to animals men seem omniscient and omnipotent (192). In order to counteract the materialistic implications of the mechanistic view of the natural world Henry More had postulated the existence of a "spirit of the world", which he alleged to be responsible for certain physical phenomena not explainable in terms of matter and motion (193). Roger adopts this idea of a "spirit of the world" or "anima mundi" , at work in the processes of explosion, combustion and other phenomena, but with a difference. Regarding More's "spirit of the world" as too shadowy and unearthly a force he, in a curious attempt at a kind of compromise, turns the "spirit of the world", the exact operation of which is completely dark to us, into something physical: "this subtile matter ... I shall call the spirit of y^{e} world, Not after y^{e} spirituall fancy of the anima of plato, Nor the dull animus of lucretius, but plaine Mechanisme after the laws Common to quantity, small or Great" (194).

This reverential attitude on Roger's part towards the natural order flowed from his awareness of God's presence in the world, something hard to reconcile with a completely mechanistic view of nature (194). For a start, Roger believes that in the beginning matter and motion were created by God (196) and that the continuance of the world is due to perpetual divine creation (197). These points had also been advanced by Descartes (198), but for the rest God's direct activity was hardly needed in Descartes's smoothly-functioning system. Roger clearly goes beyond Descartes as far as God's influence in the world is concerned. When describing the extraordinary appearance of a meteor in March 1716 Roger writes that he considers it a warning from God for men to mend their ways, and he more generally attacks the tendency to see all natural phenomena as nothing but the effects of natural causes, an attitude which leaves no room for providential signs in the world (199). Not only extraordinary occurrences and phenomena but also the common course of nature is a "perpetuall miracle" to Roger (200). The infinite wisdom of the Creator appears to him clearly from the fact that "from one single thing Extension ... and the yet unknowne union of our minds to some small portions of it wee should conceive such Infinite and Glorious order & variety as wee doe" (201). Roger is convinced that the consideration of the wonders of nature can touch people morally and should humble them (202). As was the case with most mechanically minded English natural philosophers, for Roger, no matter how much he adhered to a mechanical explanation of natural events, the divine influence in the world was a reality, and I think it very likely that Roger came to adopt this position more emphatically as Newtonian science seemed to make God more and more superfluous (203).

The two scientists that figure most prominently in Roger's writings on

natural philosophy are Descartes and Newton. Each of them exerted a powerful influence on Roger's views, the first as a great example, the second as a formidable opponent, and I will now take a closer look at the relation in which Roger stood to either. Roger's attitude towards Descartes was that of an admirer, although he was not an uncritical idolizer (204). Roger divides Descartes's work on natural philosophy into on the one hand general principles and on the other hand solutions to particular natural phenomena. As to the first he calls Descartes "a stupendous Inventor", concerning the second he has several reservations (205). Roger accuses him of being as conjectural in many matters as most people before or after him. Thus he attacks Descartes's theory of the composition of elementary matter as "unphilosophical and vain" (206). Descartes had advanced the, completely ungrounded, division of matter into particles of the first, second and third element (207), and against the first two, the "materia prima et secunda", Roger's criticism is directed (208). Descartes's notion that the shape of the particles of the second element is spherical because the rough parts are worn into round particles or globules by a process of constant friction (209) is also dismissed as trifling by Roger (210); neither does Descartes's ingenious and elaborate explanation of magnetism as the interlocking of screw-formed particles, the "particulae striatae" (211), merit serious attention in Roger's opinion (212). In general Roger blames Descartes for turning various precarious hypotheses into principles "in order to help out a compleat body of philsosophy" (213). Another reproach levelled at Descartes by Roger, and for that matter at most seventeenth-century natural philosophers, is that he was not free from arrogance (214). Yet, in spite of these and several other points of criticism, Descartes remained for Roger the man who had achieved the "late Restauration of philosofy" (215), and who had never been surpassed in his discoveries (216).

Newton was for Roger the embodiment of most of what was misdirected and even dangerous in contemporary natural philosophy. Still, Roger's attitude towards Newton was not just one-sidedly negative. In Roger's eyes Newton is the only scientist after Descartes fit to be compared with him (217). Roger praises Newton as a geometer (218), he admires parts of the *Opticks* (219) and, in an attempt to be fair, he remarks that he is willing to believe that Newton in his attacks on Descartes was perhaps led by a genuine concern for the preservation of religion (220). However, Newton should have stuck to algebra and geometry, and should not have meddled with natural philosophy (221), for Newton the geometer "hath crusht" natural philosophy, "or he would Crush it, ffor If his Notions stand, philosofy will Never rise" (222). Roger thinks, and quite rightly, that both the *Principia* and the *Opticks* aim at a disparagement of Descartes (223). For an example he refers to the part of the *Opticks* where Newton states that Descartes in his theory of the rainbow was but a plagiary of Antonio de Dominis (224), "a sorry tutor for such a philosopher" as Roger remarks (225). The Queries at the end of the *Opticks* are very unflatteringly styled by Roger "a parcel of dogmata ... designed to favour

the attractionall ag^{t} the corpuscular scheme" (226). Roger detects a deliberate design on the part of Newton and others to slight Descartes, and this angers him even more because he is convinced that almost all natural philosophers of his time are in their theories indebted to Descartes, but instead of admitting it they ungratefully attack and deride him (227). Roger asserts that Descartes's method has become "the first chapter in all books of arts" (228); he calls Burnet's *Telluris Theoria Sacra* "meer Cartesian", and Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* "another tree sprang from a Cartesian root" (229). Among Newton's immediate followers John Keill is singled out by Roger as "the great Cartesio-mastix" (230). Modern scholars have pointed out that Newton's attitude towards Descartes was very hostile (231), and one of them states that "Newton's contempt for Descartes verged on hatred" (232). If one takes this into account the obvious emotionality of many of Roger's remarks against Newton becomes even more understandable.

Roger regarded certain branches of natural philosophy as hardly amenable to scientific treatment in that they were not subject to the rules of mechanism. Thus he pays no attention to the various aspects of biology, if we leave physiology and anatomy out of consideration. Chemistry is referred to only occasionally by Roger, and that almost invariably with contempt (233). Especially chemical physicians with their "Mistick art" are for him no better than mountebanks (234). The only chemist he considers a serious and successful scientist is Boyle, because Boyle has proved all the fantastic hypotheses about the fundamental elements of matter to be false and has shown that a corpuscular theory of matter is the only right one (235). The specific branches of natural philosophy about which Roger wrote most frequently are sense-perception and its related subjects, physiology and anatomy, physics, hydrostatics and meteorology, and astronomy, and I will now deal with his views on these subjects in this order.

In Roger's view man's faculties to know the sensible world are "(directly) sensation & (Reflexly) memory" (236), where Roger uses the term "memory" in a loose and wide sense (237). In fact Locke's theory that sensation and reflection are the source of all ideas in our mind (238) is adopted by Roger, although he is not very explicit on the operation of reflection and concentrates mainly on sensation as providing our ideas. Sensation is defined by Roger as "no other than materiall pulses upon y^{e} (webb or) exterior surfaces or some internal recesses of our bodys" (239). In giving this definition Roger follows Descartes, but in his explanation of the further stages in the process of sensation he parts company with Descartes. The latter assumed that the impressions on the sense-organs are conveyed by the animal spirits, a very subtle kind of matter, to the soul or centre of thinking through the hollow tubes of the nerves, and he located the soul in the pineal gland or conarion (240). Roger has his doubts about the nerves being hollow vessels, he does not believe that the animal

spirits course through them and he discards the notion of the pineal gland as the seat of the soul (241). His version of the process of sensation is that the impressions on the sense-organs are mechanically conveyed to the common sensorium, the meeting-place of the mind and the body. The nerves, attached to the sense-organs and issuing in the common sensorium, all stand under such tension that no part of any of them is touched without there being repercussions in the sensorium, and to illustrate this Roger uses the analogy of chimes in a steeple (242). Roger is rather vague about the exact place and nature of the common sensorium; he thinks that, most probably, it is somewhere in the brain and believes it to be extremely, perhaps even infinitely small (243). The animal spirits also have a function in Roger's hypothesis of sensation and perception, but he assigns them to the sensorium and sees them as an intermediary between mind and body. The "subtile sensible matter", as he often calls the animal spirits (244), is an extremely subtle substance, much finer, Roger says, than Willis's animal spirits (245). The animal spirits are answerable to both the body and the mind; they are the instrument of the body in that they convey the movements in the sensorium resulting from the sense-impressions to the mind; they function as the instrument of the mind when the mind from within influences the parts of the sensorium and hence the various corresponding parts of the body (246). In Roger's account of waking and sleeping the animal spirits also play a crucial role. When we are awake and attentive, the mind works upon its instrument, the "subtile sensible matter", and keeps it in exercise; as a result of this, the "subtile sensible matter" begins to waste after a time, and sleep follows when, due to weariness, the mind urges its instrument no more. During sleep the "subtile sensible matter" is free to move about without restraint and in this way it gradually gathers energy again; then after some time it importunes the mind to attend again, which is the moment of waking up (247).

By accepting Descartes's rigid distinction between matter and spirit, or body and mind, Roger was faced with the question of the interaction between these two separate essences. All those who followed Descartes in this were obliged to find an explanation of this "misticall union" (248), as Roger terms it, but for most the problem was only solvable by resorting to direct divine activity (249). For Roger the soul or mind, being "a spark of devinity" (250) and immortal (251), is fundamentally distinct from body, and he considers the distinction between mind and body essential for religion (252); therefore he believes that a demonstration of the actual union of mind and body will be of great use for the overthrow of atheism (253). Roger himself also attempts an explanation of this miraculous connection and he, very tentatively, advances the hypothesis that in the sensorium body is reduced to extreme smallness and passivity and comes near to non-materiality (254); hence body and mind can reciprocally act upon each other in the sensorium (255). Although the mind has a distinct existence apart from body, which in Roger's opinion is also proved

by the fact that the will is free in spite of all the power of body, mind and body continually influence each other. Troubles of the body by degrees reach the mind and can destroy its rule; on the other hand disorders of the mind, when extreme, can disturb the body and destroy the whole (256). The power of the mind over the body is not unlimited, it affects only those parts of the body which it is immediately concerned with. The mind or will does not directly cause each and every bodily movement but acts as a kind of general instigator influencing the body which is organized for mechanical action (257). Roger wrestles also with the question how minds are generated and he suggests that originally, in the beginning of man's life on earth, there was one mind which in the course of time by a kind of fission spread over all the different bodies engendered since (258), an explanation which, as he states, also accounts for the problem of original sin (259). In several of his remarks on the interaction between mind and body Roger appears to rely on Descartes's treatment of this question in the sixth Meditation of his *Meditations on the First Philosophy* (260).

Like Descartes Roger divides the process of the formation of ideas into three phases, sensation, perception and judgment (261). The first phase, which is purely corporeal, concerns the pulses on the sense-organs and the transmission of the impressions to the sensorium. In the second ideas are formed in the mind on the basis of the sense-impressions received. Perception is for Roger to a large extent a mental faculty, and he attacks the "modern unbelievers" who maintain that for perception no incorporeal powers are needed; this is very dangerous because "in this Manner perception is made a quallity, inherent in matter, w^{ch} is monstrous absurd" (262). The third phase is the making of inferences from the material offered in this way. With Descartes Roger believes that most of our errors in interpreting the external world are due to wrong judgments and take place in the third phase (263). Throughout his writings on natural philosophy Roger is greatly concerned to point out the danger of prejudices in natural philosophy, and one of the most inveterate prejudices, in his opinion, is the assumption that all which we perceive is actually in the objects. Our senses register external objects correctly, but our judgments founded on sensations and perceptions are very often wrong because our body limits our distinguishing faculty. This faculty is "Gross & unwieldy ... becaus it depends on y^{e} Motion of our Members, soon left behind in y^{e} process of littleness" (264). Roger adopts the distinction between the primary and secondary qualities of matter which had been made by Galileo, and was adhered to by Descartes and Locke (265). He holds that our ideas of extension and its modes, such as motion, figure and number, are really representative in that they resemble what is in the objects, but that our ideas of colour, taste, sound, smell and touch are not representative in that they exist only in our minds and not in the objects themselves. In this connection it is noteworthy that Roger gives the name of "phantasms" to such ideas as those of colour (266), a term used

by Hobbes for this purpose as well (267) and one which Roger, who was well acquainted with Hobbes's works, may have taken over. These secondary qualities are caused by minute movements in the objects, but our failure to distinguish these minute movements creates a new and in fact non-existent idea (268). Roger gives the example of a musical tone, which to us seems continuous and even, but which in reality consists of a series of distinct pulses or strokes (269). Locke spoke of certain "powers" in the objects giving rise to our ideas of colour and other secondary qualities (270), but for Roger this term is out of the question because it is too much like the occult powers which the scholastics had postulated. When Roger says that primarily we receive from sense but one truth, viz. that we do perceive (271), and that almost the whole external world is "a chimera" to us (272), he seems to advocate an extremely sceptical view of our capacity to know the external world, but this scepticism is toned down considerably by his conviction that we can get to know very much of the external world by "our practise of Imploying divers modes of perception about the same objects", or more briefly, by experience and experiment (273).

The first book of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* is devoted to a refutation of Descartes's and the Cambridge Platonists' view of the existence of innate ideas (274). Roger did not admit the existence of innate ideas either and his position in this respect is in line with that of most empirically minded English thinkers of the time (275). Yet on one point Roger defends Descartes against Locke, by affirming that he can follow Descartes in his positing of the idea of God as innate. Roger approves of Descartes's argument that from the beginning of our lives we are aware of defect and imperfection, and that at the same time we feel that there is a perfect and almighty being to which we can apply for help (276). This idea which is the natural outcome of the way in which we have been formed and is thus inevitably conceived by us from the beginning "may most justly be termed ... Innate" (277). However, apart from this, Roger thinks that nothing reaches our minds but through the interposition of body (278). Without impressions derived from sensation the mind would not know anything of the outside world and perhaps not even of itself (279). Descartes made a distinction between "intellectio pura" and "imaginatio", that is, between pure thinking not dependent on or subsequent to images derived from sense, and thinking based on images derived from sense (280). Roger quarrels with this distinction because "wee can have no knowledg of any thing but throw some sensible Images, and pure Abstraction is a declared Ignorance, as when we say cogitation without sensation, wee mean nothing" (281). Hence Roger also thinks that Descartes's famous dictum "cogito ergo sum" should, properly speaking, have been "percipio ergo sum" (282).

All the different passions can, in Roger's view, be assigned to either of the two main categories, pleasure and pain. As Roger affirms that pleasure and pain ultimately derive from simple sensation (283) I will here pay some attention to his treatment of pleasure and pain (284). Roger hardly considers physical

pleasure and pain, and diversions, because these form only a relative and not a positive source of pleasure and pain. Roger in fact attempts to establish absolute criteria for pleasure and pain, or in other words, he tries to deal with the passions scientifically. He contends that the very act of self-perception is pleasant and that therefore the better we perceive our being the greater the pleasure is. A large and varied number of clear and distinct sensations yields great pleasure because through them we have a high degree of self-perception (285). Hence knowledge, "being a frequency and variety of distinguished Impressions" (286) is pleasant, and doubt or ignorance is painful. From knowledge as a source of pleasure Roger argues on to beauty. Order, regularity, harmony and symmetry in objects please us more, and, he implies, are more beautiful, than their opposites because we understand the objects far better when we are able to distinguish patterns and the various relations between the parts. Here Roger puts forward absolute criteria for beauty, which is in conflict with his remarks elsewhere that beauty is relative because it is not in the nature of things but is an idea in our minds (287). It seems to me that Roger assumes a priori the accepted aesthetic norms of his time and works them into his scheme of pleasure and pain. The premise on which Roger's attempt at objectifying pleasure and pain rests is that it is good to be, from which it follows that the perception of our being is pleasant. However, Roger was not so firmly convinced of the certainty of this premise as would appear from the foregoing. The note of uncertainty is detectable in the following sentence: "And If paine were the positive and pleasure but an Incident, our very Existence were a defect, which is almost a Contradiction" (288), where the word "almost" is, I think, significant. That Roger, with his experiences of life, at times shrank from this confident and objective view of pleasure and pain is only natural, and this becomes very clear in a fragment called "Pleasure of the Mind". Here Roger states that pleasure is wholly a matter of one's subjective feeling, and that he is happiest who has thoughts that please him, whether those thoughts are illusions or not (289).

In the physiology of the seventeenth century two schools can, roughly speaking, be discerned, the iatrophysical school which explained physiological phenomena in terms of physical laws, and the iatrochemical school which regarded these phenomena as resulting from chemical processes. Descartes and the Italian scientist Borelli belonged to the first, Thomas Willis to the second. The doctrine of the animal spirits was used by Descartes not only to account for sensation but for all muscular movement as well. In Descartes's theory the animal spirits flow in a mechanical manner from the brain to the muscles through the hollow nerves, and when they reach the muscles they inflate and contract them. In his work *De Motu Animalium*, published posthumously in 1680-1, Borelli tried to explain muscle operation wholly in accordance with the laws of statics and mechanics. Borelli discards the idea of the animal spirits and states that the nerves are not hollow but filled with a physical fluid,

the "succus nervosus"; he believes that the commands of the will are transmitted from the brain to the muscles through this physical fluid. Yet Borelli gives a chemical interpretation of the act of muscle contraction itself, for he ascribes the inflation of the muscle to a fermentation due to the interaction of the "succus nervosus" and very thin blood particles in the muscle. Willis still adheres to the animal spirits, but they are different from Descartes's in being of the nature of light. These animal spirits travel through the body along the solid fibres of the nerves, and upon reaching the muscle they meet a subtle substance, the "spiritus" as he calls it, which gives rise to an explosion causing the inflation and contraction of the muscle (290).

For a judgment of the value of Roger's remarks on physiology and muscle anatomy it is important to realize that, as far as I have been able to find out, his views were not based on experimental work which he himself had done or at which he had been present (291). In his explanation of muscular movement Roger, like Descartes, regards the human body as a machine (292), but on many other points Roger disagrees with Descartes. The mistaken Cartesian idea of the rarefaction of the blood in the heart is rejected by Roger, and he also argues, against Descartes, that the heart is a muscle just like other muscles (293). Roger's theory of muscle operation is nearer to that of Borelli, whose *De Motu Animalium* he was familiar with (294), than to that of Descartes or Willis. The passing of animal spirits from the brain to the extremities through hollow nerves is dismissed by Roger as "an Immechanical and Improbable thought", for, he argues, if that would be true the nerves and muscles would be swollen, which is not the case (295). He also rejects the idea of an explosion in the muscle for "what principle is it that walks about the body to give fire on all occasions?" (296). Both Descartes's and Willis's solutions are "meer Immechanical fancys" which do not deserve serious consideration (297). Borelli's view of the muscles as operating in accordance with the laws of mechanism is adopted by Roger, although he does not subscribe to Borelli's assumption that for muscle contraction two causes are necessary, one in the muscle itself and one supplied from without (298). Roger himself advances a truly mechanical theory by claiming that every muscle is a spring: "the positive force of a Muscle is like that of a spring allwais bent, which is opposed by some other like In opposition to it. And If any one yeilds the other draws and Contra" (299). Like Borelli Roger rejects the animal spirits, but he seems to imply that no agent is needed between the brain and the muscles, for, in his opinion, the muscle acts by an internal principle of its own and he ascribes the working of this principle to a "Subtile matter Inclosed in cavitys" (300). He nowhere mentions how exactly he views the transmission of the commands of the will to the muscles. In this connection it is relevant to remark that Roger maintains that most muscular action is not directed by the will but depends on practice, accident and the demands of the bodily frame, and that it is very difficult for the will to move the muscles in a way different from the one in which they are commonly moved

(301). The spring theory was certainly unusual at the time, although Roger may have been influenced by the notion of the irritability of tissue advanced by Francis Glisson (302). The latter was also one of the first to prove that a muscle does not increase in bulk on contraction, and it is interesting to find Roger making this point as well (303). Roger's view of the anatomy of a muscle as consisting of fibres terminating in each tendon was commonly accepted at the end of the seventeenth century (304). Yet his addition that in the tendon the fibres lie straight but in the muscle curled was sheer fancy (305). He brushes aside the objection that microscopical investigation had shown that fibres always appear straight with the revealing remark: "Who can tell how small the texture of the parts are? how many Important glands and pulps are there in the body, which defy Miscropes?" (306).

Roger's observations on mechanics and optics are seriously weakened by his failure to realize the importance of the application of geometry and algebra to these branches of physics (307). Statements like "the Rule of Going off in a tangent is Not universall but contingent" (308), and "in Mathematick Rigor the ang. of Reflection is Never & cannot be Equall with the Ang. of Incidence" (309) sufficiently illustrate his idea of the incompatibility of physics and mathematics. From his writings it appears that Roger was acquainted with the views of Descartes, Borelli, Wilkins, Newton, and the French Jesuit Pardies on the subject of mechanics (310). When dealing with the basic notions underlying Roger's view of natural philosophy I mentioned Roger's admiration of Descartes's theory of motion (311). Roger subscribed to the three general laws of motion drawn up by Descartes, but he severely criticized the rules of impact which Descartes claimed as following from the general laws (312). Most of these rules were, in the second half of the seventeenth century, generally and rightly attacked as not borne out by the facts of common experience (313). Thus Roger calls Descartes "egregiously Mistaken" (314) when stating that a small body falling upon a larger one with any given speed, will not move the larger one in the least (315). Yet, Roger says, however wrong Descartes's rules of impact were, Pardies who pretended to correct Descartes was even more mistaken (316). Especially Pardies's assertion that there are differences between motion in a vacuum and motion in a plenum is criticized by Roger (317) because he himself holds that the consequences of motion in a vacuum and in a plenum are the same (318). Oddly enough Descartes is also blamed by Roger for assuming the idea of mixed motion in his demonstration of the equiangularity of reflection in the *Dioptrics* (319); Roger asserts that in nature motion is always single and never mixed or compounded (320). Roger's practical bent clearly appears from the attention he pays in his writings to mechanical contrivances such as the pulley, the lever, the wedge, the wheel and the screw (321).

The subject of light and colours is occasionally dealt with by Roger (322), but his desperate exclamation that "Light is the most recondite and complex of all y^{e} Subjects in natural philosophy" (323) shows his puzzlement before

these phenomena. It is therefore not surprising that his remarks on this subject are rather confused. He adheres to a mechanical explanation of light and defines light as "but a materiall touch upon the sensible part of the Eye ... but not by such darting thro all space directly" as Newton maintains (324). Roger's attitude towards Newton's theory of light and colours is ambiguous; at one time he refers admiringly to Newton's hypothesis of light and says that it only wants "a phisicall solution" (325), at another, and most probably a later (326), time he states that Newton's publications on light and colours have "Introduced More Ignorance & Mystery then wee are aware off" (327). More than once Roger attacks Newton's theory that rays of light are solid or corporeal emanations from the luminary (328). He also rejects Newton's explanation of colours as the result of a separation of rays according to the measure of refrangibility and he maintains that the different colours are just modifications in the pulses upon the retina (329). On the whole Roger's views, which are not supported by calculations, approach those of Huygens, who in his *Traité de la Lumière* advanced a pulse-theory of light (330).

A "votary" of the barometer (331) or "airgager", as he sometimes preferred to call it (332), and "fascinated with pleasure" by it (333), Roger wished to see the reputation of the barometer as a weather predictor enhanced (334). The low prestige of the barometer was, in his opinion, due to the fact that the virtuosi had not succeeded in making it sufficiently reliable and so, disappointed, had given up their attempts at perfecting it. Hooke is mentioned by Roger as one of those who turned away from the barometer to other instruments (335). Roger constantly stresses the usefulness of the barometer and claims that it can be very important "with Regard to the Conservation of health" (336). Improved versions of the existing barometers will make it possible to predict with far greater precision about not only dry or wet weather, but also winds (337). That Roger, who, as we have seen before, experimented with barometers himself, was well at home in this matter appears from his discussion of the merits and demerits of various kinds of barometers then in use (338). The discovery of the spring or elater of air and of the weight of air by Torricelli in his experiments with the barometer is by Roger esteemed "the greatest since y^{e} Restauration of learning" (339). Hence Roger is very contemptuous about Sir Matthew Hale's attempts to refute the findings of Torricelli (340). Hale refused to believe that the column of mercury in the tube is sustained by the pressure of the air, as had been proved by Torricelli (341), and instead he adopted the fantastic hypothesis of the funiculus advanced by Francis Linus. The latter maintained that the mercury is sustained by an invisible thread, the funiculus, reaching from the mercury to the top of tube (342). Roger's view of the properties of air did not greatly differ from what had, since Torricelli's and Boyle's experiments, become commonly accepted on this subject (343), although, unlike many scientists at the time, Roger believes that air is not a specific substance, but "evapourated water", mixed with a certain portion of "terrene & In y^{e}

aggregate unfluid Matter" (344); he bases this opinion on an experiment by which he claimed to have turned air back into water again (345). For Roger air and atmosphere are the same, and therefore he suggests that the word "atmosphere" had better be replaced by the word "airsphere", as both more proper and more English (346).

Roger felt that meteorology had not till now received the attention from scientists which it deserved. He makes an exception for Edmund Halley whom he calls "our proto-naturalist" (347) and whose discoveries he admires (348), although he does not on every point agree with him. Halley's hypothesis about the relation between the occurrence of winds and barometric pressure is rightly rejected by Roger as far too speculative (349). The subject of winds is one which, as Roger states, still needs much investigation. Roger dismisses Bacon's work on winds as "a meer bilk" and says that he himself has a plan for a book on winds which will be more comprehensive than the usual books which "Respect Navigation, and Instruction for sailors onely" (350). In general Roger thinks that scientists can only be persuaded to take meteorology more seriously if more and better books will appear in this field (351). Roger's writings on the barometer and on meteorology were intended for publication (352), but as far as I have been able to establish, they were never actually published. The current method of weather observation by noting down on a sheet of paper in separate columns the movements of the mercury and the state of the air and the weather (353), is considered far too laborious by Roger (354). He drew up a great number of aphorisms on the weather which were to serve as established axioms (355), and he suggests that only those weather phenomena that contradict or fall outside the scope of the aphorisms need be registered (356). To give an impression of these aphorisms, which he composed on the basis of personal observations, I will cite two of them: "XX while the wind is veering towards the north, the Non-rising, dull or slow rising of the mercury is a surer signall of wett then ordinarily the falling is" (357), and "XLVI Great dews tho rising to a sort of mist are seldome succeeded by rainy weather" (358). For the sake of ordinary people Roger compressed these aphorisms into a set of short and plain rules (359). In this way Roger wanted to make the science of the weather available to a large group of people and he believed that these rules would give "a better presage of weather then their stale proverbiall saws and old weomens aches" (360).

Before Newton no one had satisfactorily dealt with the problem of the tides (361). Roger's remarks on this subject clearly show how his refusal to accept attraction as a principle operative in nature forced him to awkward explanations. Descartes's solution of the tides is obviously wrong, Roger says, although Descartes's idea of pressure exerted by the moon is sound. Roger is convinced that Newton was much better informed on this matter than Descartes, and he cannot but admire Newton's explanation, but the hypothesis of lunar and solar attraction is utterly denied by him (362). His own theory is different from that of

either Descartes or Newton. In his view Descartes and Newton were both wrong about the period of time in which ebb and flow alternate. Roger thinks it impossible that so vast a quantity of water changes its shape in so short a time (363). The tides are not currents, but they are like waves, caused by the great disturbances of the seas by winds and hurricanes, and not by the moon. The "tyde-waves" as he calls them, are "separate and distinct heavs" of water subject to pendulum-law and isochronous, and as they spread out the oscillations become slower. Yet the moon does have some influence on the "tyde-waves", of course by means of pressure and not by means of attraction. After the heaves have been brought about the moon keeps the waters in a state of undulation and the moon also determines the magnitude of the "tyde-waves". Thus Roger allows for a certain influence of the moon, but he maintains that the "tyde-waves" would exist even if there were no moon in the universe (364).

In the field of astronomy Roger favoured the Copernican system as it had been elaborated by Descartes (365). Tycho Brahe's system was rejected by Roger because Brahe let religious considerations interfere too much with his scientific theories (366). Descartes postulated the hypothesis of the vortication of the ethereal matter; according to this hypothesis the ethereal fluid, of which the universe is full, is whirled rapidly round a centre carrying planets along with it. Thus, in the solar system, all the planets rotate round the sun, and apart from the sun all the fixed stars in the universe have their vortices (367). This completely ungrounded and specious theory had a wide appeal in the seventeenth century until Newton in the *Principia* showed that vortication is from a physical point of view impossible (368). Roger remained all his life a supporter of Descartes's theory of the mundane system. The vortication theory is, in Roger's view, the most plausible of all cosmological theories because it is "the Most facile and aggreable to the knowne Methods of Nature that fall within our observation and hath least of paltry machinery that Savours of meer Invention" (369). One of the chief objections against the vortex theory was that the movements of the heavenly bodies would slow down considerably because of the resistance in a dense fluid (370). Roger, who, as we saw, believed that the effects of motion in a vacuum and a plenum are the same (371), regards the impediment caused by friction as negligible (372). He tries to illustrate the movements of the planets in the ethereal fluid by referring to the "tranquility" with which "any lumps of wood pass along in a stream; It is without any violence or Contention with the fluid" (373). The only point on which Descartes was mistaken, Roger says, was in attributing vortical motion in the solar system to the sun (374). Showing an ignorance of the laws of impetus (375), Roger maintains that the greater body, the vortex, draws the smaller one, the sun, and not the other way round (376).

The course of the planets cannot, in Roger's opinion, be demonstrated "more geometrico" because the system of the heavens is far too inconstant and irregular for geometry to be applied to it. Therefore only "a phisicall con-

jecture of y^{e} planetary regions" can be given, "all Els is vanity and affectation" (377). This way of thinking makes Roger dismiss Newton's explanation of the planetary system in what now seems a naively condescending way: "one may Lament so much good geometry throwne away upon this scheme" (378). One of the arguments which the "attractionists" adduced for the operation of attraction in the universe was the "planetary Congruity" (379), but, Roger asks, is there really such a congruity? There are many anomalies in the heavens and why should the irregularities of the moon and other planets not be real irregularities? (380). Roger points out that the astronomic tables and calculations of the astronomers have to be readjusted every year (381). In his correspondence with Samuel Clarke, Roger vehemently opposes Clarke's suggestion that the astronomical phenomena are neatly and mathematically explainable (382). In this connection Roger also mentions the comets "which come & goe in a projectile manner without any tollerable acc^{o} whence or whither notwithstanding all the hard straining of the modern virtuosi to fix them in Immens Elliptick orbs" (383). In his writings on astronomy Roger does not confine himself to a general discussion of Descartes's and Newton's systems, he also gives descriptions of specific planets (384), acknowledging his debt to Huygens, whose *Cosmotheoros* he considers an excellent exposition of the mundane system (385).

Roger North's attitude towards the natural world was a curious blend of two opposing elements. In some respects his attitude was traditional; his feeling of awe for the mystery of nature distinguished him from a growing number of his contemporaries, who, although professing their admiration for the product of God's creation, were convinced that the light of human reason would gradually dissolve all mysteries and would ultimately show nature to be a perfect well-ordered piece of machinery. On the other hand Roger believed that part of the natural world could be explained along mechanical lines. Roger was obviously not a first-class scientific mind. Lacking the ability fully to master mathematics and not aware of its relevance for other branches of science, he completely failed to see the importance of Newton's mathematization of physics. It is also clear that Roger by no means possessed a truly professional experimental attitude. In view of all this it is not surprising that his writings contain many incorrect and gratuitous statements on scientific questions, and that he made no important contributions to science. Yet Roger's writings on science are to my mind important, and that mainly for two reasons. First of all they are interesting for the historian of science and philosophy because they show how an intelligent and well-read amateur absorbed the main scientific and philosophical theories of his time, and how, in doing so, he sometimes took up a surprisingly independent stand with respect to the theories of the established scientists. Secondly, Roger's writings provide a good illustration of the fight between Cartesians and Newtonians in the beginning of the eighteenth

century, and they confirm the theory that for a long time after the publication of the *Principia* and the *Opticks* the Cartesian world picture had for several people a stronger appeal than the strictly mathematically based system of Newton (386).

CHAPTER III

ROGER NORTH ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Roger North's life spans the whole of the Restoration and a substantial part of the Augustan period. During the Restoration several processes were at work in English life and thought which, towards the end of the seventeenth century, resulted in the emergence of a new civilization. In the previous chapter I have dealt with Roger North's views on science without explicitly relating them to his views on other subjects. Science will return in this chapter because science or the scientific spirit was undoubtedly one of the major factors operative in the above-mentioned development. Although one should be on one's guard against generalizations about such a complex process as changes in "the spirit of the age", yet Herbert Butterfield's comment upon the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century seems very pertinent: "What was in question was a colossal secularization of thought in every possible realm of ideas at the same time, after the extraordinarily strong religious character of much of the thinking of the seventeenth century" (1). Roger North spent the last forty years of his life in comparative isolation, only partly in touch with the new developments around him and very much looking backwards to the glorious past before the Revolution. In how far was this High Anglican Tory affected by the changes in English thought and society which became visible at the end of the century? Was his position only that of reaction against developments which he regarded as undesirable or even disastrous? In order to be able to answer these questions I will examine his views on politics and law, religion, society, and art, hoping in this way to present as complete a picture as possible of his ideas and feelings.

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For the greater part of the seventeenth century authority, government and politics had a religious and moral basis. The doctrine of the divine right of kings, which was widely current till well into the Restoration period, was a reflection of men's belief that the justification of authority was supra-human, and it was also an expression of men's deep reverence for tradition (2). In this way of thinking every political activity needed a religious or ethical sanctioning, and resistance against the King, the Lord's Anointed, inevitably partook of sacrilege. The first major attack on this conception of government and authority

came with the publication of Hobbes's political theories in the 1650s (3) Hobbes's cynical negation of even the possibility of moral behaviour on the part of man and his consequent reduction of government into a mere instrument necessary for the avoidance of anarchy, violently shocked most of his contemporaries and stirred many of them to indignant reactions When some forty years later, Locke published his *Two Treatises of Government* (4) the process of what T A Birrell has called "the un-moralization of political life" (5) had clearly set in Locke's view of government was decidedly anti-historical and anti-traditional, for him government was a matter of commonsensical and convenient arrangement, and a good government was that which served the material interests of the participants best (6) Locke's utilitarian theories were a confirmation of what had already begun to manifest itself in the political scene of Charles II's reign, notably during the late 1670s (7) In this light the rise of the country-party or the Whigs in the 1670s involved more than the appearance of a political party that happened to have a different programme from that of the Tories In fact it pointed to a growing tendency to divorce politics from religious or moral sanctions, a development which before long came to affect the political thinking and behaviour of the Tories as well It is against this background that Roger North's attitude towards politics and law must be placed

The first writings of Roger North on politics and law date from the second half of the 1680s (8) One cannot without more evidence assume that the opinions expressed by him in these writings were exactly identical to the ones which he held during Charles II's reign The very fact that he now felt impelled to record his disagreement with the political developments is significant in this respect The *Lives* and the *Examen* cannot either be taken as fully representing his views of the period before 1685, because, with the exception of parts of the *Autobiography* they were all written after 1700 (9), so that they are indicative of his beliefs at the beginning of the eighteenth century Perhaps it is useful here to have a brief look at Francis North's opinions on government and law, because we can be certain that Roger's views were very close to those of his brother Among Roger's papers there are various transcripts, by Roger, of writings of Francis on this subject (10) In "An Essay for y^{e} Monarchy of England against y^{e} Author of Julian" (11) Francis shows himself to be a firm defender of the divine right doctrine "The King holds his Crowne from God without any pact with his people", and "God hath ordained Monarchy nay hereditary Monarchy In farr the greatest part of the world" (12) In another essay, "The History of Parliam^{ts}", Francis maintains that "It is Certein y^{t} y^{e} King of England is an absolute Monarch" (13) Yet when one compares these essays with the speech which Francis prepared for the opening of James II's first parliament, a speech which he to his great disappointment was not allowed to deliver (14), one feels that Francis's position has undergone a change His remarks about the new King and government that "Never therefore let our

church of England fear to want support when he hath said he will defend it. Never let any man entertain the least jealousy of arbitrary government, when his majesty hath declared it" (15) seem to have been inspired by his anxiety that James II would become an "absolute Monarch". Where it had been possible, in Charles II's time, for Francis and Roger, and for that matter for the Tories in general, to be convinced that the use of the royal prerogative was the natural expression of the laws of the country, this position became less and less tenable for them after 1685. In the first chapter we have seen how Roger reacted to James's policy and how he found it increasingly difficult to reconcile his reverence for the King and kingship with his belief that the laws were being violated and that the Tory Anglican interest was seriously threatened (16). The only way to make this dilemma less awkward was to regard the King's ministers and his Jesuit advisers as mainly responsible for all the illegal proceedings and to blame them for misleading the King. From his writings of these years it appears that Roger now adopted the view that the power of the crown is ultimately subordinate to the laws. He denounces "y^{t} fals principle that if y^{e} King will persist he may doe anything" (17) and he states that "the King's Command ag^{t} law is foro juridicae as well as conscientiae void" (18); he expresses his fear that the "fountaine" [of the law] will be "poysoned" if James and his ministers will have their way (19).

The treatise "The p^{r}sent State of the English Governm^{t} considered" was, as we have seen in chapter one, inspired by the events surrounding the flight of King James II in December 1688 and it contains the first full-length exposition of Roger's political and legal views (20). In the first part of this treatise Roger puts forward his theory of kingship and in the second he attacks some of what he thought were the most nonsensical and perverse theories which were being circulated at that critical time. What we are presented with is in fact a complete statement of the divine right doctrine. Roger cites "some of the chief Maximes in o^{r} law touching y^{e} Governm^{t} of England" to support his thesis that hereditary monarchy is the natural form of government in England: "The Governem^{t} of England is Monarchicall & hereditary without dependance upon any other state or power upon Earth; & y^{e} king is y^{e} Source of all Justice and authority both civill & military. 2. The K. Never dys; w^{ch} is Meant of y^{e} authority & Not y^{e} person ... 3. The Comands of y^{e} King are to be in wrighting & under y^{e} Great Seal ... 4. The King can doe No wrong ... 5. The King is dispunishable in his owne person ... 6. No disability can be alledged in y^{e} person of y^{e} King" (21). This list of maxims is then concluded by Roger with a picture of the monarchy and the laws that clearly shows his idealistic conception of government: "There are Many other admirable accomodations in y^{e} Constitution of y^{e} English monarchy w^{ch} together Compose a system of power, In all things Coherent, Great & Just, and contrived ffor universal peace & Eternall duration, under which No Man Can Receiv an Injury, without having a plaine Recours for satisfaction" (22). The "heavy" adjectives used here testify to his

deep reverence for what he regards as a sacred institution. The discrepancy that might appear to exist at first sight between Roger's critical remarks about James II's encroachments upon the law quoted in the previous paragraph and his formulation of the divine right doctrine here, is in fact nonexistent because Roger saw the divine right doctrine as embedded in the Common Law. "The Common Law of England ... is to Judg between y^{e} King & his people in all cases y^{t} can happen. The King & people y^{t} is y^{e} Mutuall tys of protection & subjection, cannot be separated or dissolved by any humane means, much less by y^{e} Kings act alone" (23). In a sense it would be more appropriate to say that what Roger is propounding here amounts to a divinization of the Common Law rather than a divinization of kings. Roger emphatically denies that the king can forfeit his crown by misgovernment; perhaps kings sometimes abuse the powers entrusted to them, but that is no reason to start tampering with the institution of kingship as established by law (24). Without suggesting in the least that Roger was not expressing his genuine convictions here, I think that it is not unlikely that the strenuous assertion of his views and the unconditional way in which they are presented were in some measure due to the stress of the circumstances.

One of the main arguments used by those who were in favour of a succession of William as king was that James, by fleeing, had broken the original contract between king and people, and that therefore the people were now at liberty to settle the government as they thought best (25). Roger's answer is that there is no historical and legal justification for this view of a contract between king and people: "if you look into law books, statutes, parliment Records, there is None, but on the Contrary a perpetuall series of declarations, Innumerable even, of y^{e} parliment besides Judgments & opinions that y^{e} K. holds his crowne from God. that he is answerable to him onely ffor all his actions, that his person is dispunishable and his Govermm^{t} Immortal" (26). Moreover, Roger asks, who are "the people"? Surely not the House of Commons because that represents only a small part of the nation (27). Roger here makes the typical Tory point that, if the people can elect their ruler, the right to elect should be extended to the whole nation (28). A natural outcome of Roger's view of kingship was the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and Roger praises the Anglican clergy for having "truely and piously" preached it, especially at times when faction was most rampant (29). Grotius's *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (30) was one of the texts adduced by many Whigs to prove that resistance to the monarch was in certain exceptional cases justified, and also a number of Tories found in this work sufficient reasons for acknowledging William as king (31). Roger, however, refers to Grotius and other foreign authors as "not at all authentick in this question" (32). In view of all this it is only natural that Roger rejects the idea of a republic with vehemence, although some of the arguments actually mentioned by him are of a rather practical kind (33). He states that a republic would be impossible in England because

its territory is far too large and he asserts that history shows that republics, even when they flourished for a time, mostly ended as "theaters of Injustice & Mercyless Cruelty's" (34) He also advances an argument which reveals his fear that, if England were to become a republic, the traditional way of life and the traditional structure of society with its central place for the nobility and the gentry would be destroyed, because, as he hints, in such a case the "city of london" will supersede the rest of the nation (35) If one compares Roger's theories with those of Locke, which were published the year after, one can only conclude that Roger's position with its emphasis on the sanctity of kingship and of the Common Law, and its view of government as a natural growth and in no way a human fabrication, was radically opposed to that of Locke

For an estimate of Roger's view on politics and law at the beginning of the eighteenth century there are two important sources of information on the one hand a large part of his two manuscript volumes on etymology, which with virtual certainty can be said to have been written by him in the years 1703-1705 (36), and on the other hand the *Lives* and the *Examen* Before turning to them and comparing them with his earlier writings on this subject it is perhaps necessary to make some remarks about the intervening period by way of introduction When Roger wrote "The p^{r}sent State of the English Govern^{mt} considered" the memories of the happy days of Charles II's reign were still vivid, and a revival of the past still seemed possible Fifteen years later, however, the situation was entirely different James II, the king whom Roger had known personally, was dead, and many of the Whig principles that had seemed so startlingly impudent and irreverent in 1689 had now become much more widely accepted Especially among the nonjurors there was the sense that the world had got completely out of joint since 1689 (37) A letter written by Roger in April 1696 illustrates how bitterly he felt this he writes that the whole concept of honour has become perverted and that we live in a "vast forest of perfidy" (38) After 1689 there was for Roger increasingly less in public life to which he could direct his idealism, and the resulting sense of estrangement was only strengthened by his isolated way of living in the country

Roger's essays on the origin and development of law and government were the outcome of studies undertaken at the instigation of Hickes .In a letter of October 1705 Roger writes that he has always delighted to dabble in the history of the law but that Hickes's publications and his encouragement have made him far more conscious of the spontaneous growth and of the continuity of the law (39) In Roger's opinion there are a number of laws of nature antecedent to any man-made laws or contracts Without these "moral laws of nature", as he calls them, mankind could not exist but would degenerate into the most savage brutality These laws are not the product of any "meditations or pains" on the part of man, but they are "Instilled with the breath we draw" and they "grow up in mens Consciences" (40) As examples of these natural laws Roger mentions the following "1 To condemne None without hearing 2 To hurt

No Creature unprofitably 3. To obey laws duely Enacted 4. To keep Covenants 5. To be Impartiall with all men 6. And (instar omnium) to doe as wee would be done by" (41). According to Roger these elementary laws of moral behaviour sprang up naturally among the first men on earth, and they were the first form of judicature. He calls these laws sacred and maintains that all positive law and all human institutions are subordinate to them (42). The Common Law is regarded by Roger as the embodiment of these moral laws. He defines the Common Law as "the general Custome of England, unwritten and derived by tradition from one age to another" (43), and he claims that "the sceme of the Comon Law is Incomparably the best Extant in y^{e} world" (44). Roger's deep reverence for the Common Law is manifest. He refers to it as "that Single and Never Dying, tho hidden, root" (45) and says that it will never "accomodate it self to fashions" (46). Modern students of the law are reproached by Roger for completely neglecting the "sacred and Intemerated" Customary Law (47). His statement that there is something of "je ne sçay quoi" about the subject of the Common Law reveals the same attitude (48), although the use of the modern and fashionable French phrase strikes one as rather incongruous here. All this is in sharp contrast with Hobbes's theories, based as they were on a view of man as purely selfish. As far as Roger's reaction to Hobbes is concerned I will here confine myself to giving one passage: "the Hobbian doctrine is a fallacy In Not distinguishing between law and equity; that is force & Justice. for law truly speaking is y^{e} will of power & Equity Naturall Justice which is the Eternall & Immutable rule by w^{ch} the will of power is or ought to be guided. otherwise all Governm^{t} is by Institution Tyranny & Encouraged to all Selfish & Injust and arbitrary proceedings... All w^{ch} makes it plaine that those who with y^{e} Hobbyans Resolve right into force, supplant all common Honesty" (49). Roger's answer to Hobbes is fully in line with the criticism generally levelled at Hobbes in the second half of the seventeenth century. As John Bowle puts it, Hobbes's critics "all affirm the existence of some 'Natural Law', some mystical sanction for government. Their unanimity reflects a profound human need" (50). To my mind it had by this time become very difficult for Roger really to believe any longer in kingship as part of a divine scheme, so that in a way it was all the more necessary for him to assert the mystical character of the Common Law.

Thus far Roger's position seems to be identical with that of 1689. Yet his lofty conception of the Common Law is accompanied, and undermined, by a number of views which show a clear departure from his former position and which, in some respects, come even surprisingly near to Hobbes's and Locke's theories. Roger still maintains that a government is an organic growth: "I Conclude therefore that Governm^{ts} are Not as automata, to be formed in mens braines & put together as a Jack to roast meat, but are qualified by Nature and occasion, such as a people left to themselves shall Naturally fall into" (51). However, the effect of this very un-Lockian passage is seriously weakened by

the utilitarian justification which he now gives of hereditary monarchy: "there is Great reason to Establish hereditary Monarchys, where such Governm^{t} is proper, ffor taking away the bad Effects of anarchy, that is Incerteinty of Governm^{t} & its succession, then w^{ch} a wors Evil cannot fall upon a Nation" (52). The very relativizing shown in his essay on the question which is the best form of government points in the same direction: "Every Governm^{t} is good or bad Nay best or worst, according to the Circumstances of Countrys and people" (53). Note also the distance Roger has travelled in his view of kingship since 1689: "It is Not hard to Imagin that Kings, who are very Nice of their Authority (and Considering that all y^{e} order & peace of y^{e} world depends on them) are Not unfitly Styled Gods viceregents on Earth" (54). Phrases like "It is Not hard to Imagin" and "Not unfitly Styled" show that the real conviction has gone, the expression "Gods viceregents on Earth" has become a manner of speaking now. Moreover, the implication that obedience is due to kings because they "are very Nice of their Authority" and provide stability in the country does not leave very much of the divine sanctioning of kingship which he had adhered to before and shows that considerations of expediency have crept in. In his description of "freedom" as consisting in "a security of being protected from the Inordinate Insults of others ... by some just & irresistable powers" (55), the word "just" cannot save the description from having a distinctly Hobbesian ring. Roger's defence of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance has also changed. The Anglican divines whom he once approvingly referred to as having "truely and piously" preached the doctrine (56) are now blamed for having turned a matter of law into a religious doctrine. The emphasis is no longer on its being at the same time a moral and a legal duty, and the vindication of the doctrine takes place in purely legal, if not legalistic terms (57). Roger constantly laments that there is no true honour and integrity left among men and this pessimism is to a large extent responsible for his ultimate adherence to that typically Augustan justification of power and authority: "the conservation of peace and property" (58). The enervation of his former high-principled attitude is illustrated by the way in which certain words are now coupled by him. He complains about the great difficulty for honest men to behave with "justice and decorum" in factious company (59) and he lashes out against seditious spirits as persons "of no value for Estates or honesty" (60). Sometimes Roger's concern for a stable political and social order makes the impression of being just the estate-owner's fear of change and desire to keep the situation as it is. The final narrowing down of his ideals perhaps appears best from what he more than once calls his sacred rule: "doe y^{r} owne buissness & Meddle Not with Such as are ... given to Chang" (61).

As could be expected, the *Lives* and the *Examen*, by far the greater part of which was written after the essays on law and government, confirm one's impression of Roger's position after 1700. Here too one finds this combination

of elements which are sometimes difficult to reconcile. Except for one long digression in the *Examen* (62) these works do not contain an explicit treatment of the subject, but Roger's way of describing and commenting upon Charles II's reign and the lives of his brothers provides sufficient information about his assumptions. As T.A. Birrell has convincingly dealt with this aspect of the *Lives* and the *Examen* (63) it will not be necessary for me to discuss these works here at great length. Roger's lofty traditionalism and his concern for high standards of moral behaviour in private and public life appear at various places, but nowhere better than in his discussion of a number of maxims on conduct in the *Examen* (64). Roger was convinced that these maxims, which he regarded as expressive of the precious store of Christian moral wisdom gathered through the ages, could fulfil a crucial function in what he elsewhere calls the "moralising of the nation" (65). However, in his descriptions of and comments upon concrete persons and events Roger's attitude is sometimes less noble and more pragmatical. The picture of Charles II's reign, as it emerges from the pages of these works, is understandably an idealized one. Yet Roger's unvaried praise of Charles II and the loyal Tory party and his equally unvaried condemnation of their political opponents as intrinsically untrustworthy and self-interested is too easy (66). About the treatment of those involved in schemes against the government Roger affirms: "I do not believe in any age there hath been such integrity of proceeding on the part of the Government against treason and treasonable practises as was at that time" (67). His attempts to present Charles II as a relatively spotless king are not always convincing and sometimes even very weak. White Kennett, whose *Complete History* Roger constantly attacks in the *Examen* (68), had suggested that Charles II was not a king of high moral standing and Roger's reply to this charge is, in its ultimate implications, very questionable: "But, with his good Leave, be the Sovereigns as bad as he would have believed of Charles II ... yet their Acts in Government may be excellently good, and, which is more, intended for Good to the Subject, however they think fit to act in their own Persons. And are good Acts to be blasphemed to the People, as Works of the Devil, because the Governors are not so good as they should be?" (69). The way in which Roger here dissociates personal integrity from public efficiency is from a moral point of view hardly defensible. The appearance of Augustan positives is a striking feature of Roger's descriptions of Charles II and his time. About the King Roger says that he was "affable and courteous" and that "no man in the World kept more Decorum in his Expressions and Behaviour" (70). The activities of the "petitioners" in Charles's reign (71) are said to have been "loathsome to all Good Men who desired to live quietly and in peaceable good Order" (72).

One of Roger's motives for writing the *Lives*, especially those of Francis and Dudley, was the justification of his brothers' behaviour (73). This makes it very understandable that Roger goes out of his way to present his brothers in a favourable light, although all the sympathetic treatment on Roger's part

cannot conceal the less attractive sides of his brothers. What is more important, however, is that Roger's defence of his brothers is not always very honourable and that the uncertainty of tone in some of the passages in question shows that Roger himself was often uneasily aware of this. Francis's reserve of manner is described as follows: "As his lordship's opinion was no secret so he had acquired a way of expressing habitually secure. For although all the company understood him perfectly well, yet his sense was so couched that if it had been delivered in the centre of his enemies no crimination with any force could have been framed out of it; and this way he used as well with intimate friends as with strangers. This is an art worthy to be exercised by all people, and is useful at all times" (74). In the last sentence Roger offers a rather feeble extenuation of an attitude on Francis's part which has an unpleasant smell of tactics about it. After a particularly glaring example of Dudley's dubious business morality Roger's comment is: "So great men cheat one another, but it is the poor bear all at last" (75). The weak "moral" of the second half of the sentence is the nearest Roger gets to a condemnation of Dudley's behaviour. Moreover, the word "great" – and this holds good as well for words like "truth" and "justice" when used in connection with some of Francis's and Dudley's actions – is to a large extent emptied of any really positive meaning here.

For a man with Roger's background, coming from a family whose members had for generations filled important public posts, a family with a highly developed sense of political and social obligation (76), the position he was in after 1689 must have been painful. Various statements Roger made after his retirement from public life give one the impression of a man who has washed his hands of it all and who is finally left with the limited ideal of acquitting himself well in the private sphere: "I have learnt ... to do my duty in private, and not to over-value my character to think that I can avail anything in the affairs of the world to influence them one way or other. It is enough if I can govern my private economy" (77). In a way the only possibility left to him of giving expression to his public spirit was his acting as an unpaid legal and financial counsellor for relatives and neighbours. No matter how much he had been forced by circumstances it is obvious that Roger could not help feeling uneasy and even guilty about having turned his back on public life. Frequently Roger mentions, in self-justification, historical examples of public-spirited, honest men who were rewarded for their services to the state and society by being discarded or even killed in the end (78). In the *Discourse of Fish and Fish-Ponds* a passage occurs which illustrates his state of mind in this respect very well. After having given a somewhat idealized picture of the attractions of living on a large estate in the country, Roger remarks that the pleasures of such a life "are ... not given to be understood by any but Statesmen, laid aside for their Honesty, who by Experience are taught the vanity of Greatness, and have an Understanding to distinguish the true Felicities of Life" (79). The phrase "Statesmen, laid aside for their Honesty" seems to be a projection of

his own situation, and the whole passage suggests that it is no longer even worth trying to act on principles of integrity in politics (80).

Roger was a traditionalist and conservative who held that in matters of power and jurisdiction the customs of the past, or the "knowne Establishments" as he called them (81), should be adhered to. At first this position was given great moral weight by the beliefs which underlay it. After the Revolution, however, Roger's bitterness about what he keenly felt as a wholesale loss of values, came to undermine these beliefs. Moreover, although he consciously rejected the new utilitarian theories of authority, government and law, and tried to hold on to the views which he had cherished before, he was gradually affected by the criteria of the new times.

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The Revolution of 1689 had, of course, far more than only political consequences (82). In the field of religion it marked the beginning of a development which during the following decades considerably changed the position of the Anglican Church and ultimately the nature of religion itself (83). Roger frequently expresses his adherence to the "National Establishment in Church and State" (84), but after 1689 the Church of England could no longer boast of being the "National Establishment" and its monopoly position came to an end. In the first place the unity within the Church of England itself was undermined by the growing division between the mainly Tory High Church wing and the mainly Whig Low Church wing. In William III's reign this division was at the same time a division between the majority of the lower clergy on the one hand and the greater part of the episcopate on the other hand; most of the bishops after 1689 belonged to the Low Church party and they held clearly less orthodox or more latitudinarian views than the predominantly High Anglican lower clergy. A large part of the country clergy had Jacobite sympathies, whereas several of the bishops had been chosen because they supported or did not disapprove of the new regime. Among the latitudinarians there was a tendency to regard the Church as a branch of the State and this view, known as Erastianism, was greatly resented by the High Anglicans. The latitudinarians also adopted a far more lenient attitude towards the Dissenters than their High Church colleagues. The Toleration Act of 1689 made it possible for Dissenters to attend their religious services openly, and they also began to play a more important part in public life in spite of the Test Act. Many Dissenters circumvented the effects of the Test Act by taking the Anglican sacrament once or only very rarely and in this way they nominally fulfilled the requirements of the Act. This practice of "Occasional Conformity" was abhorred by the High Anglicans and it made them regard the Dissenters with even greater suspicion. In the last years of James II's reign there had been, under the pressure of James's anti-Anglican policy, some attempts on the part of the leading Angli-

can clergy to arrive at an understanding with a group of moderate Dissenters, with a view to incorporating them again in the Church of England. This scheme of "comprehension" was now rejected by the High Church party, which dominated the Lower House of Convocation, the synod of the lower Anglican clergy. Apart from the rift within the body of the Church of England itself and the threat presented by the Dissenters, there was the growing anti-clericalism in certain quarters and the increasing publication of opinions that could hardly be called religious at all. It is no wonder therefore that, at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, many High Anglicans seriously believed the Church to be in great danger (85).

The changed position of the Church of England was in large measure due to the spread of less orthodox and even anti-religious views (86). The spirit of free inquiry, which was a natural concomitant of scientific investigation had penetrated religion as well. In 1689 the Lower House of Convocation sharply condemned a pamphlet in which a heretical view of the doctrine of the Trinity was advanced, and till well into the eighteenth century this doctrine remained one of the points of controversy between the orthodox and their opponents. The Scriptures which had so long been the unquestioned and authoritative basis of religion came under attack more and more, and its prestige diminished accordingly. Revelation was regarded by an increasing number of rationally minded believers as something purely historical or even completely superfluous, and for many religion became reduced to natural religion. In 1690 Locke wrote that "Reason is natural revelation" and "revelation is natural reason" (87), and six years later John Toland in his *Christianity not Mysterious* virtually discarded all supernatural elements from religion. Toland's book was in fact one of the first deist documents, and during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century deism was to be an important factor in the religious life of the country. Confronted with these threats from various sides the Church of England found it necessary to defend the Christian religion, and for this purpose science was employed by many clergymen because they were convinced that the results of science clearly demonstrated the truth of the Christian religion. The Boyle Lectures, which were established with this intention, offer a good illustration of the way in which Anglicanism, in the hands of many of its latitudinarian divines, became very much coloured with the rationalism of the age. As Leslie Stephen formulates it, by the beginning of the eighteenth century religion had become for many "historical and rational" rather than "subjective and emotional" and instead of "providing expression for [man's] deepest emotions" it turned more and more into "a practical rule of life" (88). Another point to be borne in mind here is that the deists were generally also those who advocated dangerously unorthodox views in other fields; thus deism and political radicalism often went together, which was an additional cause for alarm for the Tory High Anglicans. Although Roger's friend George Hickes was a nonjuror and as such not fully representative of the High Church party, his description of the

situation in 1711 as "this iron age of the Church and y^{e} dreggs of time" can be taken as voicing the feelings of a substantial part of the High Anglican wing of the Church of England (89).

For the discussion of Roger's views on religion I have based myself on two main sources, Roger's answer to Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (90) and the more diffuse source of the numerous scattered references to religion in his manuscripts on science. As these two sources definitely belong to the period after 1700, and as the different emphases in the views expressed here and in the other minor sources, do not point to a clear development in his attitude, I will treat all his writings on religion as indicative of his position in, roughly speaking, the first thirty years of the eighteenth century (91). Before turning to Roger's views, however, a brief mention may be made of his brother John's writings on religion. These writings, which date from the Restoration period, are included among Roger's papers (92). John intended to publish an attack on the atheists, the Arians and the Socinians (93), but this plan never materialized. He regards the Socinians as especially dangerous, because he fears that Socinianism, if it were to become more successful, would take away people's respect for the bible and would in the end even destroy the Christian religion. Another group which he warns against is that of the latitudinarians; he accuses them of treating the ceremonies of the Anglican Church with indifference, whereas he himself is convinced that the ceremonies have to be zealously guarded as fundamentals of the Anglican religion. It is interesting to find John remarking that the latitudinarians are generally "Cartesians" and that Descartes, perhaps without intending to, has been largely responsible for the atheistic spirit which is now discernible everywhere (94). When I come to discuss Roger's views on the relation between religion and science, it will be clear that John's opinion on this last point, which was not unusual during the later Restoration period (95), was not shared by his brother.

Samuel Clarke was one of the promising latitudinarian clergymen at the beginning of the eighteenth century. His Boyle Lectures of 1704 and 1705, which were directed against deism, had earned him wide praise, and a brilliant career in the church appeared to lie before him (96). In High Anglican circles the doctrine of the Trinity had for some time been considered a touchstone of orthodoxy, and in 1710 Clarke's friend William Whiston was censured by the Lower House of Convocation for his heterodox views on this subject, which also lost him his professorship at Cambridge (97). When Clarke published his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* in 1712 the reaction from the side of the High Church party was vehement. The Lower House of Convocation condemned the book in very vigorous terms: "It is with the utmost concern that we behold these daring and dangerous attempts to subvert our common faith, to corrupt the Christian worship, and to defeat the church's main end in agreeing upon her Articles, namely, the avoiding the diversity of opinions, and the establishing the consent touching true religion" (98). It is clear that after this Clarke's

chances of preferment were seriously diminished. Soon after the publication of his book Clarke let Roger North know through a common friend that he would like to hear Roger's opinion about the book. Roger wrote a brief answer, based on a superficial acquaintance with the book, in which he stated that in his opinion the aim of the book was to set up reason against revelation (99). Clarke denied this and then, after a thorough examination of the book, Roger composed an extensive letter which he sent to Clarke in February 1713 (100).

In Clarke's view the Scriptures offered no evidence of a Trinity consisting of three co-equal persons in one, and he regarded Christ and the Holy Ghost as being in a relation of subordination with respect to God (101). Right at the beginning of his letter Roger formulates his own attitude towards the doctrine of the Trinity: "I understand it In the plain and obvious sense of the church-creeds and Articles, w^{ch} I conceive carry a sufficient declaration and Explanation (as May be Made to us) both of y^{e} words and sence of the Holy Scriptures concerning that venerable mistery", and "wee have No power or possibility of reasoning at all about that matter, but Must take the doctrine upon pure faith, Grounded on y^{e} authority of the Sacred text, as it stands there declared, that is Revealed to us, being in all other Respects Incomprehensible" (102). Roger is very critical of the methods adopted by Clarke. He blames him for interpreting the Scripture-texts alternately in a literal and in a figurative way, just as it suits him, and for thus setting up his own reason against revelation (103). As to the interpretation of Scripture-texts a distinction should be made, in Roger's opinion, between texts referring to the divinity directly and texts about the divine nature which have been couched in terms resembling our human situation on earth (104). An example of the first category is the text "There are three that bear Record In heaven, the father, the word (or son) and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one" (105); this text has to be accepted as a direct revelation from God about Himself, although it is completely incomprehensible to us (106). An example of the second category is the phrase "My Father is greater than I" (107); this cannot be understood as literally applicable to or explanatory of the divine essence, which is after all inexpressible, but the use of such phrases has to be seen as a condescension to our weak capacities (108). Moreover, Roger says, Christ's words sometimes refer to his divine nature and sometimes to his humanity (109). By not making these distinctions and by applying human modes of thinking to the Godhead Clarke has unpardonably "humanized" God, and an interpretation along these lines would even make it easy to prove defect in the deity (110). Hickes fully approves of Roger's criticism here and he maintains that it overthrows Clarke's arguments completely (111). Roger also attacks the "mathematical method" of Clarke's book. The use of one basic postulate, of data or axioms, and articles derived from these axioms is, in Roger's opinion, inappropriate for this subject. This procedure has an appearance of thoroughness and a persuasiveness that can easily mislead less careful readers. Questions of belief are not capable of the

demonstration which Clarke pretends to give (112). Every one would subscribe to the "grand postulatum" at the beginning of the book that we are not to admit any doctrine that is not contained in the Scriptures, but the postulate is rendered void by Clarke's ideas about what is contained in the Scriptures, and Roger adds that this claim of strictly adhering to the Scripture-texts is also made by many Dissenters who then come forward with the wildest interpretations (113). Clarke's use of passages from the church fathers, to support his theories, is criticized by Roger because it is far too selective and because the texts of the church fathers, saintly but fallible men, do not have the status of the Scriptures (114).

Roger's estimate of the book and his great anxiety about its effects clearly appear from the following passage:

> Now, Sr It is most obvious to Comon Reflection what dismall Consequences attend this sceme of yours wch prtends to levigate the mysterys of Christian Religion downe to vulgar Capacitys; and this for Complaisance to ye humours of specious & demure dissenters, to say nothing of ye barking theists who are as buisy as the others. and accordingly the sacred Mystery of ye Holy Trinity in unity & Equallity must be Interpreted into nothing, to Rescue it as is prtended from Implying a Contradiction... It is most plain that the same way of reasoning and discours may be carryed on to the Abolishing of all religious faith & worship whatsoever (115).

Roger affirms that Clarke's book, although it claims to advance revelation, strikes at the very root of it (116). Mysteries are an integral part of religion and they are reflected in the liturgy of the church. Therefore Clarke's suggestion that the doctrines or parts of doctrine that are not clear should be removed and that the liturgy should be reformed so as to be plainer is highly dangerous, and the more so as it comes from a well-known Church of England clergyman (117). In Roger's view not a single bit of doctrine can be given up, nor can the least alteration in the form of the liturgy be admitted (118). Defiance and not compliance is the method to be followed by the religious teachers. The clergy should not "deal too Much in Emollients & sowing of Cushions ... for fear of hurting some tender Consciences, whose faith is already soft & Inclined to melting away" (119), and they should not be afraid to emphasize that punishment will be awaiting sinners and unbelievers (120). It will be clear from the foregoing that Roger was vehemently against the idea of comprehension and the practice of Occasional Conformity. Roger also expresses his fear that Clarke's book wil encourage deism and irreligion (121). It is a deliberate policy on the part of the freethinkers to cry up any statement of a Church of England divine that seems to favour their views, and Roger thinks that they will gratefully avail themselves of this opportunity. Roger accuses all those who think that by believing in miracles they surrender their reason, of turning reason into an idol (122); and, as he does at greater length in his essay on reason of 1732 (123),

he tries to play down the importance of reason by asserting that reason, far from being a kind of "Infallible Guide" we are born with, is after all nothing but "Experience of worldly things" (124). The question, he says, is not what we can or cannot understand but what our faith demands of us (125). The fundamental mistake of all idolizers of reason is that they think they can know all things knowable, and Roger calls it a sign of the apostasy of the times that the spirit of contradiction and self-assertion has supplanted the spirit of adoration (126). He inveighs against Collins, Blount and especially Toland, "that self-declared Impostor", who in his *Christianity not Mysterious* ostensibly criticizes the mysterious part of religion only, but who in fact undermines religion in general, and he maintains, against Toland, that "Not onely the Christian, but all Religion whatever is and must of necessity be Misterious" (127).

Samuel Clarke was, understandably, not very pleased with Roger's outspoken letter and he sent Roger a curt note in reply criticizing him for having built his case on a far too small number of Scripture-texts, one of which moreover, he says, is not authentic but a later interpolation. At the end of the note Clarke hints that Roger had better learn Hebrew and Greek, so that in future he will be able to ascertain the reliability of Scripture-texts himself (128). Clarke's note is in no way an answer to the fundamental questions raised by Roger, and Roger rightly remarks in his reply that "you would turne y^{e} defensive upon me, w^{ch} is Not fair, Nor can I admitt y^{e} Exch^{a}. I stand upon old Ground and from thence attaqued y^{r} book" (129). For the authenticity of the text in question Roger refers to the writings of Dr. Hammond and Dr. Bull, and he says that he fully trusts their conclusions (130). Roger looks upon Clarke's admonition to him "to see with your owne eyes" (131) as highly imprudent because that is exactly what the leaders of some dissenting sects tell their followers, and in this way the latter are first "foxed with high Conceipt of their owne Sence" and then the leaders can "bamboozle them Into a perswasion of the most Extravagant Nonsence", as appears for instance from the case of the Quakers (132).

The impression of Roger as an orthodox Anglican, which is clearly established in his refutation of Clarke, is confirmed by other writings. In the essay on the clergy Roger complains about the worldliness of the clergy and he regrets that the "primitive fortitude" and zeal of the early days of Christianity are now largely lost (133). The essay was, I think, written by Roger with the behaviour of the majority of the Anglican clergy during and after the Revolution in mind. Yet, apart from that, there was his concern about the state of the clergy in general and this concern was shared by several of his contemporaries (134). In the first half of the 1690s John Kettlewell severely censured the clergy for their vices, and notably for "the Prostituting of Religion ... to Secular Ends" (135). Roger also advances the typical High Anglican and nonjurors' view that the church is in no way dependent on the state (136), and that the state should

not meddle with the affairs of the church, and vice versa (137). Incidentally, Roger's plan in this essay for a reformation of the clergy is at the same time rather radical and very impracticable (138). Like that famous opponent of the deists, Bishop Butler, Roger adheres to the doctrine of free will and to a view of morality based on the idea of desert (139); he maintains that the concept of free will comprises "the Notions of all good and Evil, obedience and disobedience, and all Morality of Action, with the attendants Reward and punishment" (140). Roger fulminates against Wollaston who in his *Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722) expounded a system of morality which was in fact unrelated to the doctrines of Christianity. Roger's answer to Wollaston's book is that "conscience in men is the only criterium of morall good and Evill" and that Wollaston's "natural" morality "hath No fixation in y^{e} Nature of things and cannot be a ground to raise any considerable structure upon" (141).

Yet, Roger, although "standing upon old Ground", was influenced by the climate of the age, and this appears best from the way in which he deals with the relation between religion and science (142). From the beginning of the development of science in the seventeenth century scientists had had to face the charge from various sides that the pursuit of science was detrimental to the cause of religion. Hence the works of many scientists abounded with attempts at justifying the pursuit of science as not only a neutral activity but as a powerful instrument to serve religion, in that the results of science increasingly demonstrated the glory of the Creator (143). Roger's writings show that he was very well aware of the objections that were raised against science by several of his contemporaries. Roger holds that natural philosophy "w^{ch} Requires the clearest principles and closest arguments, Even up to a geometrick Rigor if possible, is the most Efficacious way of overturning atheisticall confidence" (144) and that natural philosophy "is so farr from Impeaching as to be a Main support of Religion and vertue" (145). When discussing a number of enemies of natural philosophy Roger mentions the Church as one of them, and although he inveighs especially against the Roman Catholic Church, he also criticizes a group among the Anglican clergy for "bearing very hard upon Cartesius as if he were an author of a pervers heresie, and his disciples a crew of fond beleeving Ignoramuses" (146). In Roger's eyes Descartes and Boyle have served the cause of religion better than any other laymen (147), and the rise of atheism is not, as many clergymen assert, due to science but to the depravity of several ministers of the Church, whose lives do not offer an exemplary pattern of behaviour to be followed by their flock (148). Moreover, it is not very fair on the part of the clergy to attack natural philosophy because in arguing against it they make use of the very methods of the new science, and their skill in religious controversy has been considerably improved by adopting these methods (149). Some clergymen vainly hope "to restore piety by Introducing the Ignorance or backwardness of former ages" (150), but, Roger says, this will never happen because it is impossible "to put men from a cours they Now thinck

apter for discovery of truth, then that wch was formerly In use And so long as there is a corner of ye world free, men will from thence write & dispute, and so Informe ye world In spight of all Expurgations and Combinations whatever And therefore I thinck it a vanity to goe about to discourage it & to suppress it as they doe" Roger states that the urge to inquire and to know is so great among men that it is useless for the clergy or for any one else to try to prevent them from "seeing their way" (151) He admits that the scientific spirit or the spirit of free inquiry may be prejudicial to authority, but never to religion because "the foundations of piety & vertue Rely More on the force of reason then on any authority" (152) It is clear that here Roger in his defence of science takes up a position that is in many ways directly opposite to his usual traditional outlook, and that he even gets surprisingly near to some of the arguments used by Collins in his *Discourse of Freethinking* (153), although Roger would of course have repudiated the connection with horror

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a strong tendency, also among latitudinarian clergymen, to extol science as the means to illustrate the perfect ordering of the universe and to derive from this the proof of the existence of God (154) The "admirable disposition of ye worlds economy" (155) was regarded by many as a decisive argument against the view that the world was the result of contingency, this excellent world could only have been made by an omnipotent Creator In the chapter on science we have seen something of this "physico-theological" reasoning on Roger's part as well (156) More than once Roger refers to the "Sublimity of order" of the created world (157) The fact that "light & sound act in & thro ye same fluid without any disorder or impediment to each other must excite our admiration or adoration of ye author of nature" (158) Further, Roger considers the connection of mind and body in a human being "the most Cogent reason" for a proof of a deity (159) His writings also provide examples of the "quantitative theology" (160) not unusual at that time Roger maintains that the union of the two essences, mental and material, in man, causes in us an idea of the power of the mind over the body This power is not absolute but limited Just as we arrive at the idea of infinite space and time by continually adding in our mind to our idea of limited space and time, so by continually adding to our idea of defective power we can conceive an idea of infinite power of spirit or mind over matter "Therefore there is invincible reason for men to believe & consequently to put their trust in an infinite & eternall power wch is ye almighty" (161) This argument was also used by Locke in his demonstration of the existence of the idea of God (162)

Although Roger often used the same words and expressed the same views as the "physico-theologians" his position was in one respect essentially different from theirs The "physico theologians" saw the world as a perfect divinely ordered scheme and they saw man as part of this scheme One of the implica-

tions of regarding this world as the best possible world was a very optimistic view of man's capacities and a view of man as inherently good (163). Roger found it impossible to subscribe to these views. His fear of a deification of human reason has already been mentioned, and the self-congratulatory attitude of many of his contemporaries must have appeared naive and shallow to him. Roger's conviction of the imperfection of man and his sense of a prevailing moral decline distinguished him from many of his contemporaries, and caused an ambivalent attitude towards the relation between religion and science. This ambivalence appears from the fact that the argument of the order and beauty of the world which he sometimes used himself was rejected by him at other times. He calls the proof of a deity from the order and beauty of the world "rather exalted" (164), and here he no doubt has the excessively optimistic writings of men like Derham in mind. Roger also argues that after all the very glory of the world, for instance the phenomena of light and harmony, is a product of confusion on our part. The proof of a deity from the glory of the world is, in his opinion, seriously weakened by the mistakes of our judgment; we wrongly believe that the order and beauty of the world really exist in the things themselves. Therefore this "proof" had better not be used to try to convince atheists of the existence of God (165). On the whole it seems that Roger occasionally shrank from attributing too much importance to science as a support of religion. Thus he remarks that natural philosophy can never be demonstrative of religion, and that the proof of a deity by human reason may confirm those who already believe but that such a proof has only relative value because religion depends on revelation (166).

To conclude my discussion of Roger's religious position I will give a brief account of his unfinished essay on religion and of his attitude to suicide as it appears from this essay and from a longer passage in the *Autobiography* (167). Bearing Leslie Stephen's previously mentioned distinction in mind (168) one can only conclude that in this essay at any rate Roger's conception of religion does not make an impression of great spirituality. The emphasis is mainly on the practical value of religion: "I find great Cause to thinck Religion imposed to no other End, but that men might live beneficially to themselves and others". Religion and morality are said "to preserve society, peace and [the] comon utility of men" (169). Roger's view of suicide is clearly very revolutionary for an orthodox Anglican. Roger asserts that suicide is not a sin and that every one should be allowed to put an end to his life when he finds the burden of life too hard to bear. His arguments for suicide strike one as rather shaky and casuistic; he claims that the command " 'Thou shalt not kill' was a law only to the Jewish nation and not to the whole world; and if this article were apposite it extendeth not to us, no more than that of the Sabbath doth, further than the morality of it. And if it did extend to us, it is not against self-killing, because it regards our neighbour" (170). Roger dismisses the usual argument against suicide that "we must submit to Providence and bear all that

God thinks fit to lay upon us" with the remark that no one can deprive us of "the most rational and innocent means for relief and ending torment" (171). This surprisingly heterodox view, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century was mainly to be found in libertine and deist circles (172), suggests something about the extent of Roger's disillusionment with life.

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Towards the end of the seventeenth century the structure of English society underwent an important change (173). One aspect of this change was, briefly, the rise of the "moneyed interest" and the decline of the "landed interest". The landed aristocracy and gentry felt threatened by the emergence of a new commercial bourgeoisie, which was mainly town-based, Whig and nonconformist, and they began to lose their customary dominant place in society. The new rich began to assert themselves and demanded their share in the social, cultural and political life of the country. New methods of finance superseded the older methods, and the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694 was a crucial event in this respect. With the rise into prominence of a new prosperous middle class, new ideals developed in such various fields as behaviour and education. The militia, which was a system of defence connected with an older, more feudal, structure of society, was now fighting a losing battle against the professional "standing army". In this section I will discuss Roger's reaction to these changes and I will deal successively with his views on the social order, trade and business, education, conduct, and the militia.

In 1669 Roger's father wrote that the nobility and gentry were far too wasteful and that a less ostentatious style of living was necessary (174). Roger himself frequently expresses the same view but then by the end of the century there was much more reason for this complaint. As new tastes developed in London and gradually spread to the country, many members of the aristocracy and gentry spent more and more money on pleasure and ostentation, and such a way of life was particularly imprudent at a time when the landed proprietors were hit very hard by the Land Tax (175). Roger blames the gentry for managing their affairs badly and for thinking far too little of business; in his opinion the gentry have neither "Industry nor spirits" to look after their own concerns, and they indulge in all kinds of fashionable pleasures instead (176). When commenting on the decline of music in the country Roger remarks that "It is no wonder that Nothing Good or artfull is learnt by y^{e} Gentry of England; ffor paines (If I may so call y^{e} study & practice of arts) Is an Enemy ..., w^{t} paines is taken is In accomplishm^{ts} Reputed Gentile to cover shame & blushing amongst Equalls as Not well bred, such as dancing & behaviour, with a little of fencing, and parrot-like Skill in some Modish forrein language" (177). Roger was in most ways certainly not a Sir Roger de Coverley (178). He scornfully refers to the "vulgar gentry" who want to live in grand style without

being able to afford it (179), and who are interested in nothing but "fine equippage, Idle company, keeping, gaming, drinking, swearing, side-boxing, faction ..." (180). Roger also regrets that so many gentlemen do no longer possess the "humour of living in the country" (181), but leave their estates to tenants "to come and gallant it in london" (182). He laments that the "generous way of country living" (183) is on the decline: "familys grow Contracted & Retire to small pinching ways of living In cittys or to boarding, and leav off living hospitably & quietly In great houses as formerly they did" (184). Roger had always been conscious of belonging to a social and cultural elite and he possessed a pride of class which made him feel that important values were now being threatened. Several of Roger's writings present the traditional way of life on an estate in the country as generous, cultured and industrious and they show "his general disparagement of town standards of life" (185). The increasing financial prosperity of many merchants enabled them to buy estates in the country, and Roger's class witnessed this with horror. Roger decries the vulgar tastes of "citts & upstarts, who Most frequently launch into New building designs and Nothing shall be fine, rich Nor great Enough for them" (186). He calls London, with its easy and cheap attractions, "the bane of all industry" and he also condemns London for its debauchery (187). In the capital the coffee-house had gradually acquired the function of a social centre and it had become one of the most conspicuous features of the new urban civilization. Roger's view of the coffee-house is decidedly hostile: "they are nurseries of Idleness and Pragmaticalness, and hinder the Expence of our native Provisions ..., atheism, heresy & blasphemy are publickly taugth in several of the celebrated coffee-houses and it is as unseemly for a reasonable conformable Person to come there, as for a Clergyman to frequent a bawdy-house" (188).

From the Restoration onward moral considerations tended to disappear from economics and after 1689 the emphasis on economic efficiency and self-interest became much stronger. In Tawney's words this development "naturally, if unintentionally, modified the traditional attitude towards social obligations" (189). The change of mentality resulted in a different attitude towards the poor; where formerly the duty of charity towards the poor had been a matter of course, now the notion that hard work on the part of the poor would lead to the solution of the problem of poverty gained more and more ground (190). The old Elizabethan Poor Laws had been extended by the Acts of 1662 and 1666-7, which considerably restricted the mobility of the poor and in general made the possibilities of relief more difficult. The Poor Laws were not very effective in Restoration England and towards the end of the century they were criticized from various sides (191). Both Dudley and Roger wrote on the poor and the Poor Laws, and it is interesting to compare their ideas on this subject. Dudley holds that the present laws for the maintenance of the poor have disastrous effects. Life is made far too easy for the poor, all incitement to industry is taken away and the prohibition for the poor to move

about freely in the country leads to depopulation of certain areas, which is very bad for trade. Dudley concludes that under the existing Poor Laws the poor form a heavy burden to the rich and that in general the Poor Laws are of ill consequence for the nation and do not benefit the poor themselves (192). Roger and Dudley often discussed matters like these and it is therefore not strange to find Roger making similar remarks. Roger also mentions depopulation as one of the worst effects of the Poor Laws; he states that provision by the parish is often "a meer subterfuge of Laziness and Debauchery in the common people", and he suggests that a large part of the poor had better be left to shift for themselves, because that will be the only way to make them industrious. Only the really deserving poor are to be allowed to beg, and in such cases begging ought to be "promoted as a Means of virtue to the Rich" (193). So far Dudley's and Roger's views are fully in line with the prevailing notions at the time (194), and their views appear to be equally callous in modern eyes. Yet there is an important difference. Whereas Dudley's criteria are purely economic, Roger's remarks about the poor contain elements which point to other than economic considerations. In England, Roger says, "the poorest person demands a sort of Respect from the Rich" (195), and he frequently deplores the increasing lack of charitableness to the poor: "If God should deal with Mens souls as the English Nation hath done with y^{e} bodys of poor familys, It would fare but Ill with them in y^{e} Next world" (196). Roger asserts that the parish-officers in charge of the provision for the poor are often cruel and that the punishments attending the Poor Laws are on the whole far too severe (197). A hint of Roger's attitude and of his own practice with respect to the poor may also be got from *The Gentleman Accomptant*, where he says that money spent on charity, should not be entered in one's accounts "because one Hand is not to know what the other doth" (198).

After the Revolution the doctrine of free trade became accepted in wider circles. State-regulated trade and monopolies were regarded by the commercial classes as naturally belonging to the authoritarian policies of the previous governments (199). Also, as Leslie Stephen has pointed out, free trade "was generally associated with the new philosophy of the time. Prohibition was not merely injurious economically, but was an infringement of the rights of man" (200). Dudley North has always been mentioned as one of the first and foremost English theorists on free trade (201), and it has also been argued that Roger should be listed among the earliest advocates of free trade as well (202). Roger probably adopted many of his ideas on trade from Dudley, the professional merchant, but be that as it may, the fact remains that the fourteen economic maxims of Roger's preface to Dudley's *Discourses upon Trade* form "a credo of free trade" (203). Roger's advocacy of free trade was one of his "modern" sides and also his plea for a registry-office can be viewed as such (204). Many merchants at the time saw the existence of public registers in Holland as one of

the main grounds for Dutch supremacy in trade (205), and the lawyers were accused of opposition to the scheme of a registry-office from a fear of losing profitable employment (206) However, this picture of Roger as an adherent of advanced views on trade requires some qualification In his essay "of Selling" Roger sets out his belief in the principle of free trade, but he adds that ethical considerations should sometimes play a role in commercial transactions (207) Sellers should forgo high profits if this would involve great trouble or ruin for the buyer Moreover, Roger argues that in certain cases, for instance at a time of great scarcity of the necessities of life, restrictive measures on the part of the government are "just" and even "necessary" Usury, the practice of lending money at mostly very high interest, had till well into the seventeenth century been condemned by the Church as unjust, but by the end of the century usury had been "brought within the pale of the law" and thus "the ground was prepared for modern banking" (208) Roger is also in favour of free interest, but here again he makes the reservation that the lenders should not exploit the vulnerable position of the borrowers Aware that many people will not let themselves be led by such considerations, Roger states that government control is therefore sometimes fully justified (209) As to Roger's desire for a registry-office it should also be noted that one of his motives was undoubtedly his increasing disquietude as a landowner about the malpractices in land transactions (210)

In his article on the English virtuoso Houghton asserts that between 1680 and 1710 there was a growing tendency for the nobility and gentry to become interested in trade and business (211) Roger's case is an example of this development Roger was an estate manager who availed himself of the newest methods of agriculture and business, he was "an astute business-man" (212), who in this quality was clearly in advance of most of the members of his class This is very evident from his book *The Gentleman Accomptant*, in which he proposes the system of double-entry bookkeeping (213) The application of arithmetic to trade was one of the various manifestations of the new scientific spirit at the end of the seventeenth century (214), and Roger's book fully illustrates this He states that he, unlike other writers on this subject, will not give many rigid rules (215), but will deal with the subject "in a familiar discursive Way with all the Ease and Freedom as I suppose one of my own Rank will be content to peruse" Roger addresses himself specifically to the gentleman landowner, he encourages the gentry to adopt the double-entry system and he emphasizes that the system is not only a security against fraud but a scientific means of financial analysis and of achieving maximum profits (216) There were books before Roger's that advocated the use of the double-entry system for other than merchants, but they all concentrated on the usefulness of the system as a check against fraud (217) Roger's concern is wider, and more professional, with the decline of the gentry in mind Roger wishes to impress upon the gentleman landowner the need for efficient estate manage-

ment, because only in that way will the landowner be able to cope with the increasing problems of his position. It seems to me that it can safely be argued that in scope and intention, and in the sheer length of its expository introduction, Roger's book is very original.

Descartes's view of the acquisition of knowledge was revolutionary in that his emphasis lay not on the attempt to achieve erudition but on the application of the right method (218). "Cartesian wisdom directly opposes itself to the Renaissance ideal of a wisdom identified with learning ... Indeed, the desire to achieve universal knowledge is condemned by Descartes as folly" (219). One of the concomitants of this outlook was a disdain for what was regarded as mere book-learning, and many scientists in the second half of the seventeenth century were very suspicious of traditional knowledge (220). In several of the essays of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century "pedantry" is one of the stock objects of attack (221). It was only natural therefore that a general movement for educational reform became clearly discernible from the middle of the seventeenth century. In England the Puritans also played a role in this, because, debarred from official education, they developed their own forms of education in conscious opposition to the traditional educational programme (222). There was now a growing demand for more practical and useful knowledge, and as the Restoration period shaded off into the Augustan Age and the middle classes began to aspire to gentility, the ideal of "polite learning" was added to the demand for greater usefulness. With its "faith in progress ... and [its] positive estimation of change" (223) the early eighteenth century was essentially unhistorical (224), and hence historical investigation and antiquarian studies came to be looked down upon (225). Locke's theory of education was in many ways a working out of the Cartesian view of knowledge. Locke writes that "it is the knowledge of things that is only to be prized ... that is of things as they really are, and not of dreams and fancies" (226), and he emphasizes the importance of science in education (227). One of the many essay-writers of the time, Sir Thomas Pope Blount, maintains that "it is Not the knowing much but the knowing what is useful, makes a Man a Wise Man" (228). Steele insists on the necessity for English youths to be acquainted with the most "polite" authors (229), and one of the contributors to the *Spectator* claims that the periodical has made learning a part of good breeding (230).

These developments did not leave Roger untouched, and his attitude towards knowledge and education shows a curious mixture of the older humanist ideal and the new utilitarian conceptions. The former appears most clearly from his essays on etymology and the history of the law (231). Roger has only scorn for those who are not prepared to give themselves the trouble to study a subject thoroughly, and he praises scholars who spend many years of their lives on such unspectacular and, in the eyes of the world, unprofitable work as the composition of dictionaries and glossaries (232). He remarks that "it is

a felicity In y^{e} way of all knowledg, that there have been, are, & probably Ever will be, some who are philalethes, & Sequester themselves ffrom Easy, & Gainefull studys, to Exhaust their time, In Extricating abstruse subjects, such as Cronology, Antiquity, & languages. And all for No better Reward then the adding a truth or two as they hope, to the stock that is already In y^{e} world" (233). In Roger's opinion mankind can be divided into three classes, "1. learned 2. unlearned 3. Barbarous" (234). The second category consists of the pretentious "semi-wits" on the one hand, and the generality of men on the other, and the former are sharply attacked by Roger. With the "semi-wits", who constantly parade their smattering of knowledge "Every Grave person is a Solemne Ass, and If honest, a coxcomb; All Treachery & lying is witt, and all y^{t} are Caught in y^{e} trapp, dull fools. Saying Grace Impertinent, the Sight of a parson Nauseous, and fitt to Make one Refund a Meal" (235). Roger's idea of the equipment necessary for a lawyer is very ambitious; apart from a thorough legal training involving a study of all the important earlier records and writers on law, he prescribes a knowledge of history, astronomy, geography and, in general, the arts (236).

Roger's criticism of the current university curriculum shows that although he cannot be grouped with such outspoken utilitarians as Defoe (237) or Locke, he shared some of the new assumptions about education. It is wrong, he argues, to confront beginning students with logic and philosophy; raw youths are not prepared for such severe disciplines, "they should be Entertained at first with polite & Encouraging learning such as is knowne by the title of Humanity" (238). In his alternative curriculum, which is comprehensive and certainly not narrowly utilitarian, he assigns a place to the new science; "The Cardinal Theorems of Modern Philosofy should be taught" (239), and further "Naturall History ... accounts of Experiments ... Antiquitys, languages, law, History, Nay all ancient authors ... & most Especially Aristotles works ffor their Excellency but in his phisicks, and even that too ffor the history of the opinions of other philosofers, to be had No where Els but there" (240). Roger combines in him the scholar and the practical man. He states that Latin and Greek ought to be known by all students "since sacred & humane learning lys treasured in them" (241), but he is critical of the way in which the classics are taught at grammar-schools: "youths are thrust into the dark Grottos of y^{e} poets & [are] as to all knowledge wors then purblind" (242). Here, in the implication of there being an opposition between real knowledge and such fanciful subjects as poetry, Roger is obviously a man of his age. He also shares the negative attitude of many of his contemporaries towards "romances" (243). His brother Dudley's travel-account (244) is recommended by Roger as useful, and for that reason far superior to the romance-type of travel-account, which has "Now become the learning of y^{e} lazie", and which is read so avidly by many female readers (245). Roger was one of those who were convinced of the necessity of a better education for women (246). He asserts that men and women do not differ as

to their capacities, but that lack of education often caused by the social pressure to get married quickly, causes most women to have such a limited horizon. Their education should not take place in "Retiredment from the world" (247), but it should be "ffull of pratiq & buissness". Roger advises the study of "arts, history & accounts ... Morality and philosofy, with the languages apperteining to it"; the classics should also be studied (248), but the usual trivial reading of "poetry and romances" should be avoided.

The dividing-lines between seventeenth-century writings on education, conduct and morals are often hardly discernible because these three subjects were mostly treated as one (249). The seventeenth century had a long tradition of books on conduct. Among the most famous and influential writings of the first half of the century were Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* and Richard Brathwait's several books on conduct (250). The picture of the ideal gentleman which emerges from these and other writings of that time is that of the aristocrat and the cultured public leader. After the Restoration good breeding, together with birth and learning, gradually became one of the criteria of the gentleman, and once again Locke's writings provide a good illustration of the changes that were taking place. In his writings on education and on the gentleman (251) Locke attaches great importance to the qualities of good manners and decorum. Just as with the ideas about education the notions on polite conduct were now more and more coloured by the new middle class outlook. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the concept of gentility had undergone a considerable change; the gentleman was no longer primarily the aristocrat and the public leader, but the civilized man of good manners, an ideal attainable for the merchant and the trader. Dobrée's description of the awakening of the middle class consciousness is apt: "we have a curious sense of watching a very self-conscious society reaching out for what it feels it lacks to become complete" (252). The writers who deliberately set themselves the task to promote this process of emancipation of the middle classes were, of course, Addison and Steele. Roger wrote a number of essays on conduct and morals, and as they probably belong to the early eighteenth century (253), it will be interesting to compare them with the *Tatler* and *Spectator* essays, which obviously contain the dominant assumptions of the time.

Roger's starting-point was completely different from that of Addison and Steele (254). Roger did not write the essays for a wide reading public, and he was not aiming at the greatest possible effect. He wrote them at the behest of an unidentified lady (255), and he clearly took great delight in just putting his thoughts about these subjects on paper. His point of view is that of a "private person", who is not led by motives of "publik Reformation or Conservation" (256); in a way the essays could perhaps be seen as moral essays embodying the ideals of a gentleman like himself. One of Roger's aims in writing the essays was also his desire to treat these subjects in a scientific or "Cartesian" way.

This comes out most clearly in his essay on "Pride" where he tries first to establish the basic principles, or "the substantiall & clear principles", before going on to particulars (257). Roger lacks the polished style of the periodical essayists and this was not only, or not even in the main, due to the fact that he did not intend the essays for publication. Even if that had been the case, Roger's personality, his idiosyncratic style, with his carelessness about syntax and his inclination to digress, would never have produced the *Tatler*- or *Spectator*-type of essay. Yet the essays bear at several points a great resemblance to those of Addison and Steele, and this is especially true of the essays on breeding, affectation and dressing (258). Roger abhors "court-breeding"; he calls it "a Trade or profession" and "fulsome Hypocrisy", which has nothing to do with good breeding (259). His descriptions of what constitutes good breeding fit in well on the whole with the various definitions to be found in the *Tatler* and *Spectator* (260). "Being well bred is No other then an art habituated of passing y^{e} time in Idle Company, with Eas, profit & delight to y^{r} self & them" (261). Roger advises "an Easy passiveness in Company" (262), and states that the rule "act & Comport as If you were perfectly happy" is the briefest and most complete definition of "passive breeding", although one's happiness should be "Conteined prudently without passion or transport" (263). Everything extraordinary in behaviour or dress is to be avoided, all excess is wrong, and a "mediocrity" should be striven for (264); ultimately one's behaviour and dress must be founded on "right reason" (265). Roger's use of terms like "right reason", "good nature", "prudence", "decorum", "affability" shows that he to a certain extent conformed to the new social code of the Augustans.

Nevertheless, in spite of these resemblances, Roger's position is in various ways fundamentally unlike that of the periodical essayists. To quote Leslie Stephen again, many early eighteenth-century moralists showed "a provoking tendency to an easy optimism" (266), and Addison and Steele's view of man was certainly rather rosy. Their emphasis on "benevolence", "good humour" and "good nature" as qualities which every man of sense is capable of acquiring underlines this. It is true that they discuss human vices, but there is always the implication that reasonable men will, after the necessary effort, be able to free themselves from these blemishes (267). Roger's essays have nothing of the suave and often irritatingly complacent tone of Addison's essays. Roger's view of man is not reassuring or extenuating; he believes that the raillery of friends can be a very effective way of making us aware of our vices, and that it is thus a valuable help in attacking "y^{e} beast" in us (268). In this connection it is also relevant to point out that de Villiers's moral essays, which Roger had chosen for translation, are obviously more hard-hitting and unsettling than the moral essays of Addison and Steele (269). Roger's pessimistic outlook is illustrated well by his remarks on the attitude to be adopted towards one's enemies (270). The periodical essayists, with their plea for social harmony, advocate a lenient and forgiving attitude. Addison states that "A Man should live with his Enemy

in such manner as might leave him room to become his Friend", and he calls such behaviour towards an enemy "indeed very reasonable as well as very prudential" (271). Roger is very vehement and abrupt in his denunciation of enemies, and he holds that any truckling to them is out of the question. The descriptions he uses in his discussion of enemies, such as "wolves", "bears" and "these Monsters" would no doubt have been regarded by Addison as shocking, and as a breach of decorum. On the other hand even the most glowing account of the beauty of friendship to be found in the *Spectator* (272) looks pale beside the passages on friendship in Roger's essays. There is a personal urgency in Roger's descriptions of the ideal form of friendship which is completely lacking in Addison's (273). The loaded tone of the passages in question is striking and it reveals how much Roger's emotions were involved; several of his words carry a weight which is very un-*Spectator*-like: "But y^{e} true amity w^{ch} Makes happy is that w^{ch} grows out of Mutuall harmony or liking Cultivated by a series of reciprocall & significative Expressions of it, and frequent as well as sensible Experiences of its inexpressible Injoym^{ts}. Here Self is translated and all y^{e} Care of Each, is in y^{e} other. And truth takes place, w^{ch} makes Each Indulg naturall & humane Infirmity in y^{e} Other knowing No persons are free from it, and that none without Indulging can be Indulged. whatever is Judged to be oblidging is held forth, without putting y^{e} others Modesty or tenderness upon y^{e} tenters ..." (274). It is also significant that Roger's picture of deep friendship in marriage is decidedly unsocial in its emphasis; the outside world is seen as hostile and therefore the mutual intimacy of marriage is the only haven: "the world with all its ffetters & chaines is far off" (275). Roger's treatment of pride also differs from the way in which most moralists at the time dealt with this vice. As A.O. Lovejoy has argued, the moral temper of the age "oftenest expressed itself in that constant invective against 'pride', so characteristic of Pope and many another writer of the period. Pride is the sin against the laws of Order" (276). This "ethics of prudent mediocrity" (277) is obviously present in the *Spectator*'s treatment of ambition and fame (278). The prevailing attitude is one of warning against the pursuit of fame, and against the dangers of aspiring too high and overreaching oneself. It seems to me that some of Roger's remarks are a reaction against the customary attacks on pride and the corresponding extolling of humility as the prime virtue (279). Roger in fact laments that the spirit of "prudent mediocrity" makes glorious deeds and heroism impossible, and part of his essay on pride could therefore be viewed as a complaint about the disappearance of the glorious past, and about the levelling tendencies of the new times (280).

One of the effects of the Civil War and its aftermath had been an increased aversion on the part of most Englishmen to an army of professional soldiers or a "standing army" (281). Upon and after the restoration of Charles II the memories of Cromwell's New Model Army, which had been kept on during

the Interregnum, were such that anti-army feelings were widespread.The alternative to a standing army was the militia, of course in combination with the navy. The militia had existed for a long time and it consisted of "soldiers" recruited locally and mobilised only in case of war or other exigencies. The militia was an institution reflecting the traditional hierarchical structure of society in that the leading nobleman of the county was generally the lord-lieutenant of the county militia and in that the nobility and the gentry provided the officers and the money. Thus, as L.G. Schwoerer formulates it, there was and always had been a strong "correlation between militia responsibility and social degree" (282). In the early years of his reign Charles's credit was so great that he easily secured the sole command of the militia (283), and that he was also allowed to keep a small standing army in the form of a regiment of Guards. At various moments during Charles's and James's reigns the question of the control of the military and of the form of it became acute, because of the political implications. James II built up a large standing army, containing foreigners and Catholics, and this caused great suspicion and alarm. One of the points of controversy between James and his House of Commons was the existence of this standing army and the House angered James exceedingly by not complying with his wishes to legalize the army, and by voting unanimously for introducing a bill to make the militia more effective. James's argument was that the militia, in what form soever, would always be an inadequate instrument of defence, but the real importance of the army for James lay, of course, in its being a powerful weapon in his policy of catholicizing England. Under William III feelings ran high over this issue again. The Peace of Ryswick of 1697, which meant the end of the war between England and France, left William with a large professional army which he did not think of disbanding. Now for almost two years, from 1697 to 1699, the standing army and its alternative, the militia, were the subject of hot debates in the House of Commons and in the country at large. William and the great majority of the Whigs wanted to keep the army intact, but the Tories and a small number of radical, and very clamorous, Whigs opposed this. In the period 1697-1699 parliament succeeded in bringing about considerable reductions in the number of professional soldiers, and at the same time two bills for reforming the militia were introduced, but in the end nothing came of this. From the beginning of the eighteenth century onward the idea of a standing army became more and more widely accepted and the militia was by most people no longer regarded as a serious alternative.

Roger's essay on the militia (284) was probably written during or immediately after the period of great agitation over this question in William's reign. Roger speaks about "all these discourses" (285) and this must be a reference to the flood of pamphlets that were issued in the years 1697-1699. Roger's position in this matter was clearly Tory; he rejects a standing army and proposes a reform of the militia (286). His essay reflects something of the curious alliance between the Tories and the radical Whig minority, of which Fletcher, Trenchard

and Toland were the most prominent exponents (287), but it is at the same time a reaction against the concrete proposals for militia reform by these Whigs. Roger uses some of the arguments against a standing army and in favour of a militia that are to be found in the pamphlets of the radical Whigs. Thus Roger condemns a standing army on moral grounds; he maintains that within such an army of "Mercenary cut throats" in peace-time "laziness debauchery and oppression" will inevitably develop (288). He counters the argument of the pro-army writers that professional and trained troops cannot but be superior to a loose collection of untrained and undisciplined militia men (289), by asserting that the militia soldiers in case of an emergency will be as efficient as regular trained troops, provided that they are led by officers whom they trust and feel a personal loyalty for (290). Like Trenchard, Roger makes the point that a foreign invasion can never be so sudden as to prevent the militia from being sufficiently prepared (291). However, as to the motives underlying his suggestions for reorganising the militia and as to the suggestions themselves Roger differed fundamentally from the radical Whigs, whose view of society was completely unlike that of Roger. For Trenchard and his supporters the acceptance of a standing army was equivalent to delivering up one's freedom and opening the way for absolute rule (292). They wanted an organisation of the militia in accordance with the recent changes in society. Roger's proposals for a reform of the militia sprang from his concern about the breaking up of the traditional pattern of society. He was still thinking in terms of a society in which the power lay with the nobility and the gentry. In this respect it is noteworthy that he speaks of officers and their "Reteiners and dependants" (293), words that reveal his conception of an older hierarchical structure of society. The plans of people like Fletcher, Trenchard and Toland were dangerous in Roger's eyes, because they ignored these traditional bonds between the gentry and their "Reteiners" (294). The radical Whigs advocated a militia of freeholders (295), and Fletcher stipulated that the officers and soldiers of the militia should be chosen and paid by the people that sent them, that is, the men of property (296). Roger clearly wants to preserve the Tory interest when he suggests that only country gentlemen, and of course preferably those of the right political colour, should be officers and that these officers should raise men from among their dependents and servants (297). Roger's essay ends with a warning to the gentry to take their own defence in hand because otherwise they will soon be enslaved to the interests of others (298).

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"There is nothing in Nature that is great and beautiful without Rule and Order; and the more Rule and Order, and Harmony, we find in the Objects that strike our Senses, the more Worthy and Noble we esteem them. I humbly conceive that it is the same in Art and particularly in Poetry, which ought to be an exact

Imitation of Nature ...". This passage from John Dennis's Epistle Dedicatory, addressed to Granville, of *The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry* (1701) (299) presents some of the basic assumptions about art at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The triumphant successes of science were showing more and more that order and harmony were the principal features of the created world; and this order and harmony should be reflected in art (300). Shaftesbury's and Hutcheson's writings on beauty and art offer a good illustration of the current conviction that love of uniformity, symmetry, order and harmony are natural to the mind of man (301). "Nature" in the quotation from Dennis refers specifically to "human nature" or rather "civilised human nature" (302), and it is thus, in Bredvold's words, of an "ideal and normative kind" (303). In Pope's *Essay on Criticism* this conception of nature is clearly discernible, and as the ancients were regarded as having successfully achieved in their art the aim of following nature in this manner, it is only natural to find Pope stating: "Learn hence from Ancient Rules a just Esteem; / to copy Nature is to copy them" (304). The neo-classical doctrine involved a heavy insistence on the following of a number of fixed rules, an insistence which was also promoted by the scientific demands for lucid definition, differentiation and classification. The development of science, and the emergence of a scientific spirit, affected people's attitude towards art in other ways as well. Bacon, Hobbes and Locke had each of them stressed the view of the imagination as a distorter, and they had asserted the superiority of "judgment" over "wit" (305). By the end of the seventeenth century the notion that the imagination should be kept in check by the rational faculty was fairly common (306). The scientific spirit was also responsible for a growing emphasis on standards of utility in art (307). However, from the early eighteenth century onward one can also see the beginning of a development away from this absolute and rigid aesthetics towards a more subjective and relative view of beauty in art, and the increasing attention for "taste" in the appreciation of art clearly points in this direction (308).

On the whole Roger North's general views on art are in line with the prevailing climate of opinion. In the second chapter we have seen how Roger, via a "philosophical" argument, arrives at the accepted ideals of order and harmony (309). Knowledge is pleasant, and hence an increase of knowledge gives more pleasure; order, symmetry and harmony are pleasant because all the different parts of an object and their relation to the whole are perceived distinctly, and order, symmetry and harmony are for that reason beautiful. On the contrary, lack of order pains and baffles the mind "by y^{e} Suspens and labour to Comprehend what sence p^{r}sents" (310). So Roger establishes a direct link between intelligibility and knowledge on the one hand, and beauty on the other (311). Occasionally Roger states that beauty is relative because beauty is not to be found in the nature of the things themselves, and depends on "y^{e} Severall Conditions of Men" and also on "the severall Modes of living

wch different Ages & Countrys affect" (312). This is of course very hard to reconcile with his position as described above, yet it seems to me that Roger, in spite of these "relative" remarks, adhered to the accepted criteria of beauty in art. More than once Roger maintains that the best art is that which "flows from a conformity with Nature" (313), and he defines the best music as "that musick which agrees most with the best actions of civilised humanity" (314). About poetic style Roger remarks that it is only to be acquired "by practice upon the models of antiquity" (315). He adopts a moderate and common-sensical attitude towards the question of the importance of rules: "As a good style hath its roots in Dull Grammar, but In ye use leaves it Intirely behind. So the felicity of a ready designer is derived from rules and Examples, wch in doing are little thought off" (316), and "Not the Rule but the Judicious Estimate of things guided by the Rule, must Governe" (317). His distrust of the wildness of the imagination appears from the remark that "however brisk ye fancy may be, the peice [i.e. the poem or painting] will carry no value, without a Judicious Review & settlement of it according to Naturall reason & truth" (318). As we shall see later on, a strongly utilitarian element is clearly present in Roger's theories on architecture and in his views on poetry and prose-style. Roger allowed for a beauty in art unattainable by the rules alone - "in all arts, the soveraigne beautys as of weomen are a je ne scay quoy ..." (319) - but this assumption which was gradually gaining ground in the early eighteenth century, did not at first undermine the validity of the generally accepted and fixed criteria of beauty. Thus, although Roger's aesthetics may be said to have contained some subjective elements, it is yet a far cry from Hume's very relative notion that every mind sees a different beauty (320). I will now proceed to a discussion of Roger's specific views on painting, music, architecture, history and biography, and language and literature, and I will examine in how far his general views on art are applicable to each specific field. The discussion of his attitude towards language and literature will be followed by a brief assessment of his essay-writing and his prose-style.

The period of the end of the seventeenth century and the first few decades of the eighteenth has been styled by Waterhouse "the most drab in the history of British painting" (321). The generation of painters succeeding German-born Godfrey Kneller, who was the most successful and most productive portrait painter of his time, was very inconspicuous. Roughly speaking two main schools of taste are discernible in the early eighteenth century, popular taste and academic taste (322). Popular taste especially concentrated on portrait painting, and Kneller had catered for this on a large scale. Academic taste was classically oriented and based itself largely on the rules laid down by the seventeenth-century French painter and theorist Du Fresnoy whose *De Arte Graphica* had been translated into English by Dryden in 1695 (323). According to the canons of academic taste the genre of history painting ranked highest, with portraiture, the landscape and the still life following it in that order, and Raphael

and Nicolas Poussin were regarded as the most "classical" moderns. In England Shaftesbury had voiced the neo-classical tenets most clearly, but Jonathan Richardson, himself a portrait painter of some note, was also an Augustan "classicist", although he was less strict and less exclusive in his taste than Shaftesbury (324). Richardson's writings on painting enjoyed a great popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century, and as it is obvious that Roger North's views on painting show a great resemblance to Richardson's, I will briefly mention some of the main points of Richardson's theories (325). Richardson constantly expresses his great admiration for Raphael and Poussin. In his view paintings should always present the best of nature, or "nature improv'd", which reminds one of Pope's "Nature to Advantage drest" (326); a portrait painter should try to raise the character of the person portrayed. He prefers history painting as the noblest form of painting to other genres. Too great a luxuriance of the fancy should be avoided. Richardson also devotes a separate essay to the then much debated issue of the sublime, in which he states that a low subject and a mean character are incapable of sublimity and in which he defines the sublime in painting as the conveying of the greatest and most beautiful ideas in the most advantageous way (327).

When discussing the relation between the fine arts and science in the age of Newton Sir George Clark remarks that from the sixteenth century onward the study of perspective as a part of optics had been undertaken by painters and writers on art (328). In Roger's writings on perspective these two aspects of his interest in painting, the technical (or scientific) and the aesthetic, are clearly present and they are related. Roger starts by giving a brief account of the history of painting - in passing he also touches upon the history of sculpture - and he comes to the conclusion that the ancients were not very familiar with perspective (329). The age of Raphael is mentioned by him as a period of great improvement because Raphael and his school made excellent use of perspective, especially in their landscape paintings; in general the work of Raphael is praised highly by Roger (330). On the question as to what constitutes a good painting he states that a painting should have "a suitable elegance w^{ch} allwais flows from a conformity with Nature" and that "nature itself should be found shining clear in y^{e} performance" (331). Roger also formulates his views on the sublime, although he says he can be brief because Richardson has been so thorough about it. The sublime in painting, which, in his view, depends to a large extent on "the perspective oeconomy of the peice" is achieved by "impressing on mens minds Ideas of Grandeur & Majesty" (332). Therefore the Dutch style of painting "with its boorish designes, choosing to paint the backside of an Alehouse rather than a Noble history" (333) has never been truly sublime. Like Richardson Roger does not reserve his praise exclusively for the painters who belonged to the recognized classical tradition, such as Raphael, Michelangelo and Carracci; he also appreciates painters like Durer, Rubens, and van Dyck, who "have fallen into a more agreeable manner" because

of their contacts with Italian masters (334). Roger distinguishes three main categories in painting, portraiture, the landscape and history painting, dismissing the still life as "a performance of no dignity" (335). A good portrait can only be made by a painter who possesses the following qualities: "an Exquisite Judgment in y^{e} art of painting ... a consumate habit by practice after y^{e} best Examples ... a generall Judgm^{t} in humanity & phisiology ..." (336). Roger is critical of many portrait paintings of his day: "where doe wee see y^{e} picture of a lady with a Modest countenance? ffor on y^{e} Contrary all are made brazenly staring upon the company; and all y^{e} while sitting in stiff affected postures, as in reall behaviour would be smiled at. and the Men are Set out in Bombast draperys & fierce visages, as upon y^{e} point of quarrelling, and No Labell would fitt their mouths so well, as that w^{ch} spoke, draw". He ascribes "These Indecorums" to either the artist's wish to indulge the vanity of his clients or to "a want of Just thinking in y^{e} artist" (337). Again Roger says that Richardson has dealt with this subject so extensively that he cannot add very much to it. With landscape paintings the main purpose should be, in Roger's view, the presentation of "a comparative variety of objects" (338) and the greatest difficulty is "the placing of figures in them so circumstanced that they may appear as being in due place, true magnitude & proper distinction" (339), and to achieve this a mastery of perspective is necessary. Roger mentions the landscapes of Manby and Bega as very defective in this respect (340), and he asserts that on the whole no paintings show this defect so glaringly as hunting-scenes, "the good Hondius not excepted" (341). History painting is the highest a painter can aspire to and it should therefore show "the most unexceptionable propriety and decorum" (342). History painting reveals not only the genius of the artist but also the peculiar character of the nation which the artist belongs to. Roger refers to French history paintings as clearly showing "y^{e} soft vanity of their humour, with w^{ch} their Incomparable poussin hath but too Much Complyed" (343). Van Dyck's picture of the family of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton is regarded by Roger as one of the best examples of this category (344). From the foregoing it will be sufficiently clear that Roger's views on painting were not very striking and that his taste was in conformity with the general tendency of academic Augustan taste.

In his *Roger North on Music* John Wilson has abundantly shown the significance of Roger's writings on music. From Wilson's book Roger emerges as one of the most interesting and most important musical authors of his time. For a start there was no English writer on music between 1650 and 1750 whose scope was as wide as Roger's (345). His essays on the history of music were "a pioneering effort in English musical writing" and they are the only source of information about the beginnings of the public performance of music in England (346). Roger was the first English author to concern himself seriously and at length with questions of musical aesthetics and criticism, and many of his ideas on

this subject anticipated those of Avison in the middle of the eighteenth century (347). Roger's treatment of harmony in music was striking and showed a great resemblance to the approach of the first theorist of harmonic style, the Frenchman Rameau (348).

What music meant to Roger appears from the following rhapsodic effusions: "... certeinly musick exceeds all arts & means upon Earth that were ever known & practist, ffor y^{e} Immediate and copious Enterteinem^{t} of all our facultys together" (349), and "of all the sciences in the world ... there is none so fraught with beautys such as arise from regularity of mixture and proportion, in unaccountable fullness and varietys, as Musick ..." (350). There is no doubt that Roger had a great love for music and that his judgments were often based on his instinctive feeling for it On the other hand Roger's taste and his views on music corresponded to a large extent with the current Augustan attitude towards art. Roger's attempt to define the elusive quality of "musicall Ayre" is significant in this respect: "a sort of musick that seems to flow from Nature, one sound following another as if they were of a family, so as nothing occurs that occasions any one to say Why, or What means this? Every thing proper, and nothing fantasticall or in the least defective, but as the Thames, in Denham's description, still full but never overflowing" (351). In Roger's view music should not only please the sense by means of the "pure Dulcor of Harmony", but it should also try to present "Humane Nature with all its passions and affections", as if the composer "aimed to instruct as well as please" (352). The sublime in music is never achieved by "extravagances", but it is the result of the happy concurrence of hard work and inspiration on the part of the composer, and even the sublime must always be subjected to "right reason and judgment" (353).

Music remained of vital importance to Roger throughout his life and "music" here implies such different aspects as appreciation, performance, composition and musical theory. Roger often says that music was "native" in his family (354) and a remark made by his father underlines this: "I professe not to know any pleasure exceeding Musick, saving that of Contemplation in matters Divine" (355). Roger received instruction from the mid-seventeenth-century composer John Jenkins and very probably also from the violinist Nicola Matteis; in the course of his life he further became personally acquainted with Theodore Steffkins, one of the court musicians of Charles II, Henry Purcell, Captain Prencourt, who served as a musician in the Catholic chapel of James II, Bernhard Schmidt or "Father Smith", the organ builder, the Italian singer and teacher Pier Francesco Tosi, and the eighteenth-century musician Dr. Pepusch (356). Roger's position could be called that of a "moderate" in that he witnessed the decline of older forms of music with evident regret but at the same time enthusiastically welcomed some of the new developments at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century (357). Roger appreciated the "fantasies" of the time of the early Stuarts (358) and he thought

the vocal Italian music of Charles I's time superior to that of the early eighteenth century (359). The gradual disappearance of the custom of playing music in the family circle and, more generally, the tendency for music to become a more exclusively professional affair, a development which set in during the Restoration period (360), was lamented by Roger (361). The public concerts which came into vogue in London during the 1670s were, in Roger's eyes, often very faulty performances (362). Upon the Restoration Charles II rejected the older English music in favour of French music (363), but Roger, and with him such music-lovers as Pepys and Evelyn (364), disapproved of the light French style (365). Roger was respectful to the work of John Jenkins and Matthew Locke (366), but he was fired with enthusiasm by the compositions of Purcell - "a greater musicall genius England never had" (367) - and of Corelli - "if musick can be immortall, Corelli's consorts will be so" (368). The flood of Italian music that swamped England after Purcell's death in 1695 (369) was on the whole received with admiration by Roger (370). He greatly preferred the genuine Italian opera to most "semi-operas" (371); this type of production, which was very popular in the early eighteenth century, was an odd mixture of various kinds of entertainment with a great emphasis on spectacle (372). As to the genuine Italian opera, Roger thought that sometimes undue stress was laid on one or two voices, so that the opera consisted too much of solos and the audience just came to hear the performance of a celebrated singer (373). By 1710 the Italian opera in England was at its height; writing about fifteen years later Roger remarked that "the Itallian vein is much degenerated", because far too many "curiositys" and "excesses" have been introduced into the opera (374). It is not certain whether Roger was acquainted with the work of Handel, as he does not mention him once in his writings, and therefore it is probably safest to conclude with Wilson that Roger's musical experience "did not run beyond the Corelli generation" (375).

Roger's background in architecture was distinctly "classical": he tells us that he had studied Vitruvius, the chief classical authority in the field; Palladio and Scamozzi, the late Renaissance architects, who exerted such a strong influence on Inigo Jones; Evelyn's translation of Fréart's *Parallèle*, a book largely based on Palladio's precepts; and Desgodetz's *Edifices Antiques*, a survey of classical architecture (376). Roger believed that no building can be truly magnificent if the doctrine of the five orders, which had been handed down from antiquity "as a law almost Inviolable", is not strictly observed (377). The essays on building written by Roger at the end of the seventeenth century and in the late 1720s (378) show that he gave his classicism a typically Augustan expression, and they also show that his views on architecture did not change over this period of more than thirty years. In the first Roger writes that "A building should be like a good discours when all the words fall Easily & without straining" and that "reason and usefulness" are the "arbiters of all decorum

within as well as without" (379); in the second we find the following, very telling passage: "things of a bizarr & burlesq sort, please Not from beauty but Extravagance & Novelty, & Exite laughter rather from Contempt then value of them. But levell ranges, strait courses & Equall spaces, or such as Intermix Regularly, have an Innate decorum, because at first view wee thinck wee shall comprehend & at Next Reflection perfectly understand them" (380). Roger's general criteria of beauty in architecture are uniformity ("ffor that consists of Intelligible parts layd out in due proportions so that y^{e} whole is better comprehended then If it were of discordant & disorderly parts, without Relation to Each other"), symmetry, strength, and usefulness; especially this last quality "conduceth very Much to beauty. utile dulci ought to Stand (tho not wrote) In y^{e} front of Every ffabrick; and I ought to have plac't this first, as being the cheif thing wherein Judgm^{t} of decorum leans" (381). In view of this position it is only natural to find Roger making a distinction between the "Gothick" or irregular, and the "Regular" style in architecture (382). He considers all English architecture till the end of the sixteenth century Gothic and he dates the introduction of the regular style, based on Italian and French examples, to Inigo Jones's first buildings (383). Roger divides Gothic architecture in England in three periods, each with its own distinct characteristics, but this division was clearly beside the mark (384).

On the whole Roger's judgments of specific works of architecture correspond with his general views, but occasionally Roger deviates from them in his judgments and then he is less Augustan than would be expected. About Gothic churches Roger says that with many of them the impression is created of enormous weights being carried by very slender props and pillars, "but Nothing is more ag^{t} reason & consequently ungracefull", and "whatever y^{e} Real strength be, a building Must Not Seem weak to y^{e} Eye" (385); Westminster Abbey suffers, in his opinion, from this defect (386). Roger has very little appreciation for the Henry VII chapel at Westminster Abbey: "the unaccountable Notching & fringing all parts of y^{e} fabrick ... w^{ch} is lost to y^{e} Ey at distance & neer hand is Not understood, being a nett of small devisions to no porpose" (387). The Schools at Oxford are condemned by him for the very bad handling of the five orders, and he obviously has got a point here (388). Yet Roger does not show the one-sidedly negative attitude towards Gothic architecture that appears for instance from the pages of the *Spectator* (389). He cannot but admire the "air of grandeur" about Durham cathedral, he praises Salisbury cathedral, especially its tower, and, in spite of his criticism, he calls Westminster Abbey and King's College Chapel Cambridge the two finest pieces of Gothic architecture in England (390). As we have seen in the first chapter Roger thought Inigo Jones far superior to his successors (391). Jones's repairing of St. Paul's, his Covent Garden and Banqueting House are referred to by Roger as having "More Majesty" than any other building made since then (392). In Roger's view Pratt, Webb and Wren were very "dexterous", and especially Wren was

very good "as to accounts & computations", but Roger implies, they all lacked the "peculiar soul" which should inspire the really great architect (393). It is perhaps interesting to point here to the similarity between Roger's estimate of Wren and that of some authoritative modern writers on architecture (394). Roger admired most of Wren's works, but he was very critical of some of them. Thus he condemns Wren's rebuilding of Hampton Court for not showing sufficient variety: "it hath a flatt balustered head & rangeth all alike, 2 sides of a square, w^{ch} are y^{e} principall views of it, & having No breaks nor risings, to Shew Somewhat of Compacted frame, is dull & insipid" (395). If one takes the date of writing of Roger's second essay into account it is remarkable that it contains no reference to the buildings of Hawksmoor and Vanbrugh, the architects of the English Baroque period, a period which had almost come to an end again by the time Roger wrote his essay (396). Apparently Roger was not acquainted with this phase of English architecture. Both Roger's essays do contain interesting descriptions of many seventeenth-century buildings, especially of various country-houses all over England.

In Restoration and Augustan England the differences between historical writing and biography or autobiography are often not very great and this is borne out clearly by the similarities between both Roger's theory and practice as a historian and biographer. The "Preface" to the *Examen* contains the most extensive exposition of Roger's views on historical writing. In his opinion the historian should not limit himself to giving the public events, he should try to lay bare the intricate web of lines leading up to the public event by asking himself "Whence should come the Substance or Marrow, that is, the interior Springs, which Inspirited all such Phaenomena of State, and what Motives, Oppositions, Intrigues, Hypocrisies, and Broils of Affairs between Governors, Ministers, Statesmen and the Community; and upon what Accidents have great Affairs turn'd, and Disappointments as well as Surprising Events and Successes arrived"; and for the answers the historian must especially examine the notes and memoirs of private men (397). It will be obvious that with such an approach Roger thought a thorough study of characters indispensable: "... our Curiosity leads Us to observe more attentively the Characters of Persons then the Nature of Things; being desirous to know what they were rather then what they did. And, for this Reason, the Morality and Use of History depends much upon a nice Account of Characters of Men celebrious in public Affairs of their Time" (398). Roger contrasts this psychological approach, of which the *Examen* provides abundant illustrations, for instance in the portrayal of the Earl of Shaftesbury and Sir William Jones (399), with the practice of most historians, who make the mistake of thinking nothing worth recording but "y^{e} Acts and monuments of Great States & Generalls of armys" (400), thus turning history into no more than "a bare index" (401). In his view Herbert and Camden belong to this category and he depreciatingly refers to them as "solemne

wrighters" (402). Much of the interest Roger has for us as a historian of Charles II's reign is due to his concentration on seemingly insignificant but often very enlightening details and anecdotes, which also considerably adds to the liveliness of his descriptions. Roger himself was aware that his strength lay there and he remarks that it is not his talent to deal with national, large-scale affairs (403). With his contemporaries he shared the belief that a historian should not just register neutrally, but that he should judge; Roger saw the historian as a "censor morum" whose task it was to condemn evil and to praise good (404). Such a position naturally had its effects on the historian's impartiality because one's political convictions could and did bring about a great divergence of opinion as to what was good or evil. Roger has only scorn for Wilson, Ferguson, Welwood, Somers and Kennett, writers of a republican or Whig stamp (405), and although he allows Buchanan to have written very well about the distant past, he regards him as very biassed when dealing with more modern times (406). Froissart, de Commines, Spottiswoode and Clarendon are commended by Roger as good modern historians (407), and he even calls de Commines "a pattern" because he "everywhere adds Reasons and Observations to Truth" (408).

Roger's theory and practice of biographical writing have been widely commented upon (409). His "General Preface" on the art of biography (410) is easily the most extensive critical discussion of biography before 1750, and his views here strikingly anticipate those of Samuel Johnson, as expressed in *Rambler* no. 60 and *Idler* no. 84 (411). Like Johnson Roger emphasizes the importance of dealing with the "peculiar economy and private conduct" of the person in question (412). Roger was "startlingly modern" in his statement that biography requires to a large extent the same skill as the writing of fiction (413). Even a cursory comparison of the various versions of the *Lives* shows how Roger constantly revised and re-arranged his material in order to achieve the maximum effect. Like Boswell, Roger frequently tried to render his descriptions more dramatic by replacing indirect discourse by direct speech and dialogue (414). The earlier versions of the *Lives* are even more lively, informal and intimate than the final printed versions; the latter are clearly more "correct" than the former, which was no doubt due to the influence of the times on Roger's taste and to his son Montagu's stricter sense of propriety (415). Roger's main aim in biography, that of moral instruction (416), was fully in line with the prevailing ideal in the eighteenth century (417). Roger maintained that the "scars & blemishes as well as beauties" of the subject ought to be recorded, and he was convinced that he seriously strove for objectivity (418). However, his deep attachment to his brothers and to the world they represented made this often impossible, and one can only say fortunately so, because this involvement on Roger's part was largely responsible for the intimately personal tone and for the gusto of narration that are so attractive in the *Lives*. Roger heavily criticizes Baxter's autobiography as being "no better than an Harangue for Presbytery

and Nonconformity" (419), and he asserts that Burnet's aims in his biographies of the Earl of Rochester and Lord Chief Justice Hale were completely wrong because he obviously intended only invective in the one case and panegyric in the other (420) Roger praises Melchior Adamus's portrayal of the German Reformers, Gassendi's *Life of Peiresc*, the anonymous *La Vie de J B Morin* and Izaak Walton's *Lives*, because in these books "we find the man at home as well as abroad", and he is very enthusiastic about Robert Nelson's life of Bishop Bull and Francis Lee's life of Kettlewell "either may stand for a Specimen of what a written Life should be" (421)

In a discussion of Roger's views on language and literature, of which we have seen something in the first chapter (422), one can be very brief about his appreciation of literature, simply because literature was not one of his serious concerns This is not to say that he had not read much, his writings contain many references to both classical and modern poetry and drama (423) Yet from the way he speaks about them it is obvious that he really took no interest in them as imaginative literature Plays, and especially comedies, are seen by him mainly as material for the social historian, he values comedies because they illustrate the manners and the language of an age so well (424) Many of Roger's remarks on poetry reveal a distrust of this genre, a distrust that became fairly widespread after the Restoration (425) Roger calls poetry "a profest tricking with words" and he makes the following distinction between prose and poetry "As in prose the sence & argument are y^{e} principall aim, and the wording but Instrumentall, so In poetry fable and Jingling are y^{e} Cheif business, and the Morality as it happens" (426) In his theories on prose style Roger was very much a man of his age He attacks the puritanical style in preaching for abounding in figures of speech and he condemns Sir Thomas Browne for his "affectation" and "vaine ostentation" in his use of language (427) In general he rejects the "metaphoricall style" as "y^{e} comon pedantry" of the first half of the century (428) Nathaniel Fairfax's attempt at purifying the English language in his *Treatise of the Bulk and Selvedge of the World* is scornfully referred to by Roger as "vaine tampering" (429) He is more favourable towards the linguistic experiments of Charles Butler and Bishop Wilkins (430), and he praises the language reforms in France, although in his opinion French style has become somewhat too stiff and sententious as a result (431) Roger has qualified admiration for the English prose style of his day (432), he mentions Dryden's prose as the best example of it (433) and he curiously describes Sprat's style in the *History of the Royal Society* as "poetical" (434) Although he thinks that English has improved considerably of late, he states that "a More concise purity of speech is to be striven for" (435) and he adds that, fortunate ly, it is now becoming the way of the best writers "to affect a polite clearness of language", using "terms of art & figures but for Necessity, when plaine Expressions are Not competent for their flights" (436) Just as Swift was to do

some years later (437) Roger insists on the need for fixing a standard of speaking and writing because otherwise the language will change too quickly (438). The utilitarian bent of Roger's notions on language is clear (439), and in his remark that we should try to "Collect the fullest sence in the fewest words" (440) Roger comes very close to Hobbes (441). When pleading for simplicity and smoothness of syntax Roger seems to be referring to the prolixity of the Ciceronian style and the brevity of the Senecan style, the two styles that were in vogue during the first half of the seventeenth century; he himself claims to aim at a style "Even & smooth, not too Extended or crambd with parentheses, wch makes us forget the Nominative case, before wee Come at the verb. Nor too short & snatching; as moving by starts, or In fitts & girds, as a hogg pisses" (442). In view of the evident lack of smoothness of much of Roger's own writing this plea strikes one as rather ironical; it is evident that Roger's theories of style often did not tally at all with his own practice.

Roger also had outspoken ideas about translating. He was a great advocate of translations "as ye only tollerable way to give one age the benefit of ye witt of another" (443), and because English will be enriched by the infusion of foreign words and phrases for which there is no proper equivalent (444). In Roger's view a translation should not be too literal, the important thing is to convey the ideas of the foreign writer (445). He discusses the merits and demerits of a number of translations such as Sir William Soame's verse-translation of Boileau's *Art Poétique*, Ben Jonson's rendering of Sallust, d'Ablancourt's translation of Lucian (446), and Hobbes's translation of Homer; Roger styles Hobbes "without competition the best English translator" (447).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the essay was generally looked upon as a loose literary form offering the writer a far greater freedom than the regular discourse or tract (448). Roger shared this view (449); he thought the essay a very convenient form of writing for himself and he certainly showed self-knowledge in this, as composition or design never were his strongest points in writing. Roger asks, why may I not ramble in my essays? after all Montaigne, Pascal and Selden rambled in theirs (450). He calls his style "Essayisticall", which meant that he felt entitled to use "more words & Circumlocutions and with less dexterity of Expression" than would be necessary for a regular discourse or tract (451). The kind of essay he wished to write was "a familiar Essay, ledd on by a propence chain of thoughts, wch I lett goe sincerely & In the very dress as they appear" (452), and one must conclude that this is only too true for some of his essays, although his unpremeditated and rambling way of writing often forms one of the charms of his essays. Roger also justified his preference for the essay in a way that shows the then current denigration of the scholar as opposed to the gentleman (453); he asserts that the essay is especially suitable for gentlemen because they "care Not to be confined to such strickt order & method as compleat tracts prtend too" (454). Usually two main types of essay are distinguished in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth

century, the personal or "familiar" essay, and the "social" essay (455). In Roger's case it is first of all difficult to decide what is an essay and what is not; there is such a variety of scope and manner and there are such differences in the degree of "finish" that one has to be very cautious in using the term. Nevertheless it seems justified to use the term "essay" or "fragment of an essay" for all the pieces included in this book, with the exception of the account of his closeting by James II. On the whole Roger's essays can be assigned to the category of the "familiar" essay, for, no matter how public or "social" the subject-matter may be, most of them clearly reveal the personality of the writer and fully fit Sutherland's description of the "familiar" essay as "personal, idiosyncratic, rambling, reminiscent" (456).

Those who have commented upon Roger's style of writing in the *Lives* have used qualifications like "vivid", "racy", "colloquial" and "conversational" (457), and these can be used of his many other writings as well. What has not been realized about the style of the *Lives* and the *Examen* is that Roger to some extent deliberately employed the style of speaking and writing current in Restoration England because he believed that in giving the history of a time "one should not omit y^{e} very language" (458). Roger's use of language is not everywhere exactly similar; his published works are of necessity more polished than the jottings which he never intended for publication, but still it is possible to detect a number of characteristics common to all his writings, though in varying degrees. First of all it is striking that, although by far the majority of them belongs to the eighteenth century, his writings lack the elegance and smoothness characteristic of the Augustan manner; there is a distinct seventeenth-century flavour about his style (459). Apart from this, Roger's style is highly idiosyncratic and the elements of style can be briefly summarized (460). His spelling is very singular; he often capitalizes unimportant words like articles and prepositions, and on the whole there appears to be not much system in his spelling. His vocabulary and idiom is another conspicuous feature. He frequently coins new words and phrases, he lards his writings with foreign expressions, especially Latin and Italian, although he does not always use them correctly. Proverbial phrases and old saws abound in his pages and this gives something very homely to his style. Many of his words and expressions are colloquial, or even slangy, in a very un-Augustan way. Roger's syntax is rather loose and it offers a good illustration of his remark that he let go his thoughts "In the very dress as they appear" (461). Language was obviously "fluid" to Roger (462) and the result was a style that is sometimes awkward and puzzling but often very vivid and colourful without any traces of the decorum valued so much by the Augustans. In a way Roger's style shows how much he lived in the past and in isolation from the currents of the new times.

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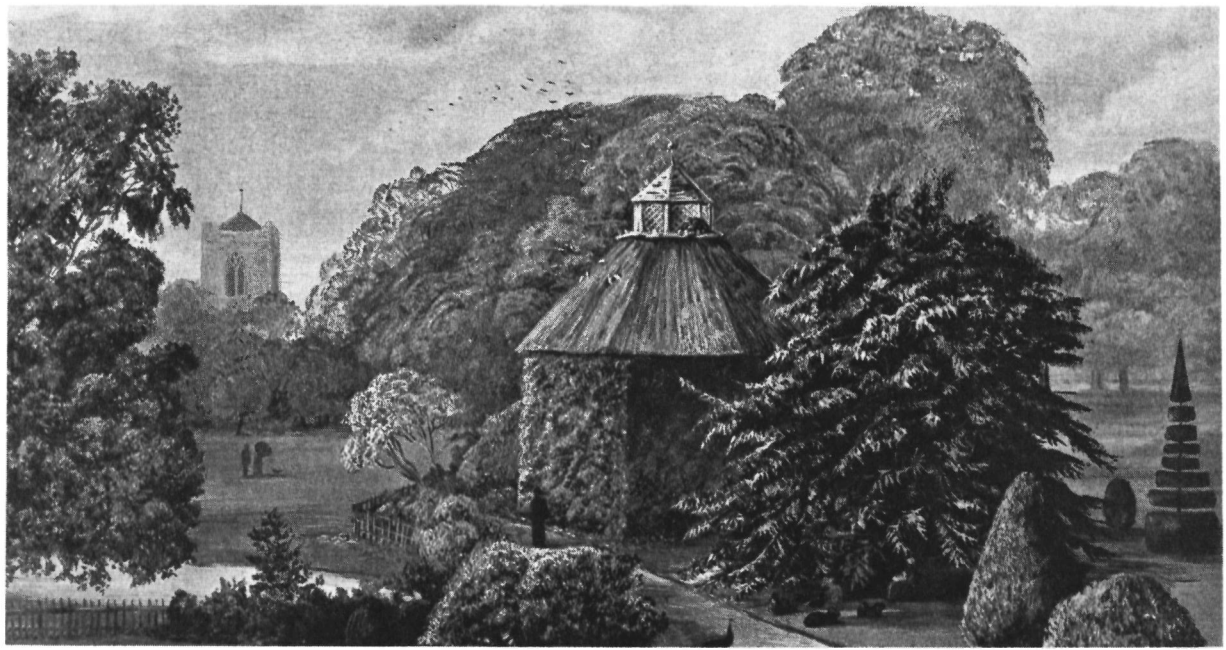
Roger North's life and writings offer a good illustration of some of the major changes that characterize the transition from Restoration to Augustan England, or rather the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The latter phrase is wider, and therefore better, because in certain fields the transition from Restoration to Augustan did not involve a real break. G.N. Clark writes that the Jacobites and nonjurors "were standing out against the spirit of the age" (463), and in Roger's case this statement is certainly true to a large extent. Yet with Roger it was not just a question of reaction. Conservative and traditional as he was, and remained, in many respects, he was also partly consciously, partly unconsciously influenced by the new developments towards the end of the seventeenth century. He remained a Tory all his life but his Toryism gradually became less idealistic and more quaint because after the Revolution there was hardly anything in the political scene of the country to inspire him. Latitudinarianism and deism, those manifestations of the early eighteenth-century "enlightenment" in religion, were always vehemently repudiated by Roger, but at the same time his scientific side brought him occasionally rather close to the position of those whom he condemned for their unorthodox or heretical notions. In his views on "society" Roger showed an attitude that combined progressive with traditional elements in a curious way. Roger's theories on art were on the whole aesthetically meagre and utilitarian, and as such typical of the general tendency after 1660. Yet Roger's eclecticism makes even these attempts at generalizing about him sometimes inadequate; elements like his views on suicide, his deep love for music, his theory of biography, his peculiar prose-style considerably complicate the picture of this very interesting man. Perhaps Roger's position could be said to be partly the not unusual one of men who, in George Eliot's words, "have numerous strands of experience lying side by side and never compare them with each other" (464).

PART TWO



EDITORIAL NOTE

The seventeenth century witnessed an increasing tendency to regularise and stabilise the English language Nearly all of Roger North's essays belong to the early eighteenth century, a period when the above-mentioned regularisation and stabilisation had advanced considerably The aim in this edition has been to preserve as fully as possible the original form of Roger's text, thus to show that Roger's English both as to spelling and other aspects was remarkably irregular at such a late date and also because it very much characterizes the man Therefore the contractions and all the idiosyncracies of capitalization, spelling, punctuation and syntax have been maintained Only in the essay on religion, which is a transcript by Roger's son Montagu, the contractions have been expanded because they would make reading needlessly difficult (Montagu North has contractions like "kgdom" and "ptıcular" for "kingdom" and "particular") The most frequent contractions in Roger's essays are

y^{e}	= the	wth	= with	-m^{t}	= -ment	comp^{a}	= company
y^{t}	= that	y^{r}	= your	s^{d}	= said	hon^{d}	= honoured
w^{ch}	= which	o^{r}	= our	ag^{t}	= against	hon^{r}	= honour
w^{t}	= what	p^{r}-	= pre-	acc^{o}	= account		

Additions in square brackets contain either words or parts of words that have obviously been omitted by accident, or suggestions for words or parts of words where the text is hardly legible or illegible Occasionally very obvious slips are followed by [sic] Emendations and explanations of difficult and awkward passages or phrases are suggested in the notes to the essays

The essays have been grouped together in the following way

1 "moral" essays ("Pride", "Breeding", "Essay" [on contentment in retirement])
2 "sociological" essays ("of y^{e} Generall conduct of weomen", "of y^{e} English Militia", "Of the Clergy of England", "Of Selling")
3 essays on learning and language ("Etimology, ", "Of Termes of Art, Style & Idiom")
4 scientific and philosophical essays ("of pleasure and pain", "p^{r}face to a philosofick Essay", "p^{r}judice", "Pleasure of the Mind")
5 essays on reason and religion ("Reason", "Religion", "A demonstration of free will")
6 political essays (essays on the best state-form, on passive obedience and non-resistance, on Hobbes's theory of government)
7 the account of his being closeted by James II

BM, Add. MSS. 32523

122r. Pride

Is understood Either in the mind and thought, or In y^e^ outward action, but In both Esteemed a vice, & accordingly blamed; and If it be a vice, it is the most Epidemicall of any, for No person is free. Some are proud Even of humility. The whole matter lys in Mutuall comparison, and therefore this humour, or, If you pleas, vice, is allwais opposed by its like, and If one would make y^e^ picture of Mankind thus drest, they must be all described like a pack of fools a tip-toes, Each striving to top y^e^ Rest. But to waive Jesting, & be serious, it is wcrth y^e^ while to Endeavour a right understanding of pride, and whither it allwais deserves y^e^ censure w^ch^ attends it. And altho wee miss our end, wee have y^e^ pleasure of Hunters who diss-appointed of y^e^ quarry comfort themselves with y^e^ good sport they had. The world is a forrest over run with Error & p^r^judice, And I am one of those sportsmen that have had much Enterteinment an harmeless truth (1) thro y^e^ wild & meandrous tracks of comon opinion, and sometimes triumpht In y^e^ conceit of having got y^e^ Substance of it. from this touch, I have occasion to begin, for It was a proud word y^t^ past, tho softned with y^e^ temper of a conceipt onely, and Might as well have gone in positive termes; w^ch^ perhaps might have stirred up the opposite party of pride, In y^e^ shape of Contradiction. therefore have a care not to be so Caught, but attend patiently.

Wee have two termes cheifly to deal with, pride & virtue, & In consequence their opposites, Humility & vice. The first I take according to y^e^ distinction spoke of as It is In y^e^ Mind, and as it is in action; the Caracter belongs wholly to y^e^ former, the other is but the Effect or Emanation, and falls under y^e^ consideration of prudence rather then vertue. But as In figurate speech, the Effects & causes comonly pass one for y^e^ other so wee shall call actions vicious as well as Intentions tho strictly the vice belongs onely to y^e^ latter. pride in The Mind, Is onely an opinion of self p^r^ference above others comparatively, according to y^e^ Subject Matter be it prudence, beauty, Eloquence, or other valuable quality. And In y^e^ action It is onely such gesture or speech as Indicates this opinion; So that pride & its opposite, humility Rest wholly In Comparison

122v. (2). It is Not / pride to thinck one hous, or Estate, tho ones owne, better then another Man's, whither y^t^ opinion be right or Not, but to thinck one self better than another for such reason, is certeinly a Rank pride. Then, as to y^e^ other terme, vertue, Necessary also to be understood, wee Mean by it onely a will or chois determined to

good. And the opposite terme, vice, is y^e^ Same determined to Evil. Here comes in good & Evil to be understood, as to w^ch^ I can onely say, that all truth is good, abstractedly; and falsity, the Contrary. hence Justice Is good. for it is the truth of propriety; and wrong Evil, being a falsity of right and w^ch^ is wors Reduc't to act by depriving y^e^ true owner. And whatever use may be made of disguises In y^e^ practice of y^e^ world, as dealing with children & weak people, w^ch^ I will Not Now be concerned with, it is accidentall, and hath Regard onely to particular defects & Imperfections of humane nature; and doth Not Impeach the generallity of My position, that truth is good & Error or falsity Evil. And then It follows that all acts of y^e^ Mind w^ch^ Move against knowne truth, are vicious, and those w^ch^ Move upon truth are vertuous, be y^e^ Subject Matter whatt it will, And the actions derived from thence are accordingly termed vertuous or vicious. And these acts of y^e^ Mind are the will, or the desire & chois of y^e^ person The character of w^ch^ gives the denomination as before.

This foundation being lay'd wee advance to y^e^ Inquiry, whither pride is universally a vice, and its opposite humility a vertue, as y^e^ Comon opinion is, or Not. And If wee look abroad, and Examine y^e^ Ordinary censures passing in Such cases, wee meet with Incerteinty and Confusion. ffor the same things are approved & disapproved in severall ages, and In different persons. what the Romans called Honour & tryumph, wee call puff & vaine Glory. w^t^ some call Justifying others call bragging, with many such like; whereas all those cases fall within our definition of pride that is comparative self-p^r^ference. If that be vicious In one time, & Country It is y^e^ same in all. Therefore wee must goe beyond vulgar speech & censure for y^e^ distinction. ffor Men ordinarily speak they know Not what, but as parrots & Magpyes, after Custome without any real Images /
123r. of things w^ch^ can subsist In nature to ffill their Expressions (3). Therefore they fall Into generalls that are but Nests of fallacys, and when things may be true with distinction they affirme In y^e^ generall both ways & so Contradict themselves.

Now for Experiment sake lett us deny that pride, as above defined is any vice, and see If wee can find out y^t^ vice another way, Nay lett us affirme it to be a vertue & then perhaps from y^t^ Extreame height wee shall see y^e^ clearer.

To Maintaine this I demand onely truth, I mean that The opinion of self-p^r^ference Is Not mistaken but just & true. then I say that this opinion, and Consequently w^t^ever pride it is, being Just & true, cannot be vicious but on the contrary, In Regard it is the Exercise of our Cheif facultys, and done without deceipt or Error it is, and

ought to be Esteemed a singular vertue. I may affirme upon the generality of y^e^ former declaration of good & evil, that Nothing true is (abstractedly) Evil, or false, good. Then to be clearer, grant a man hath y^e^ felicity to know that his sence learning, or Eloquence surmounts all his Contemporarys', and is Neither fond Nor Mistaken, but manifestly convinc't of it, It were foolish to deny him that use of his facultys, and rediculous to Expect he should give himself y^e^ lye, and depreciate himself against his owne Judgm^t^; but that y^e^ vulgar often doth Expect, vanishing y^e^ matter with the soft & tender Expressions of humility, submission & y^e^ like. suppose a lady, with whose sex beauty, being first sought for, answers a world of vertues in Men, should know her self to be farr p^r^ferable In her time & country, or granting her the other vertues of Modesty, prudence, affability Non-affectation, Conduct & Economy, w^ch^, to say truth, Joyned with y^e^ former, are too much ffor one person, and that she is sensible of all these advantages, It were barbarous to deny her the satisfaction it carrys and the austere & solemne comportm^t^ as belongs justly to such a caracter, and p^r^serves y^e^ dignity of it. And It is utterly Inconsistent that such a one can be so abject, as by servile & childish gestures to make herself Esteemed, such as humility, in the comon sence, would Require of her. /

123v. I am sure Neither Religion, nor morality Requires it. The former abominates all falsity, & y^e^ latter needs it not to support its laws. And I thinck I am safe In saying that If any ffinds in themselves what is truely good, to labour against that opinion, to pervert it to y^e^ Contrary, is a sin, and offence to truth. But all this while I desire it May be Remembred, I am dealing with opinion onely w^ch^ I allow its utmost latitude, & will Not have it Curbed in y^e^ least, unless it be, when ther[e] is a consequence of a bad Inclination or will w^ch^ needs to be opposed by somewhat of y^e^ contrary, tho warping towards an Extream. As for actions, & y^e^ pride of them, I consider that they are not solitary, as thought, but Combined as society Engageth, wherefore prudence will putt in for a great share in the Conduct of them, of w^ch^ hereafter.

Having gained so farr, that an opinion of self-p^r^ference being true, and not tainted or seduc't by a devious will or choice is no vice, It will follow that If such opinion be Not altogether so just but Mistaken in any degree, from weakness of Judgm^t^ & humane frailty without falsity of will, It May be Called Error, but Not vice; yet in y^e^ Eye of y^e^ world it hath generally y^e^ same odium as y^e^ most vicious pride for y^e^ mobb seldome distinguisheth. I have observed some that have had great allowances of this made them, and altho filled with a fastous (4) conceipt of themselves, have bin Excused,

and (w^{t} is more) hon^{d} & Respected, But it hath bin when their behaviour was accompanyed with Egregious tokens of a vertuous disposition, such as Sobriety, liberality, charity, piety, & (tho forc't) humility, but of these, y^{e} Instances are rare, when they are found, there is a Manifest want of Judgm^{t}, but vertuous Inclination, and for that reason all Respect is due, as to y^{e} best of Men, ffor None can forme to themselves strength of facultys in y^{e} mind more then In y^{e} body, but y^{e} will is in y^{e} power of Every one, and No Error of it Is (in Rigor) Excusable

But to clear our Selves of this Nicety, I am of opinion, that our Judgm^{ts} seldome faill, concerning ourselves, and y^{e} case I mentioned, of an honest Mistaken pride so rarely happens, that wee may shutt it
124r quite out, as if it Never were, or will be - ffor wee have Not / means to Judg of any thing in this world so certeinly as of our selves, our caracters & Capacitys There is No fucus or dissimulation within, all is clear & at home, wee cannot say we were Entertained with Glazy promises, or deluded with fine tales or storys, wee doe Not act upon trust there, Nor can wee If wee would, In point of knowing, cheat o^{r}selves wee feel, & that is, truely know our owne Minds But yet, strang as it is, Nothing is so depraved as Mens Iudgm^{ts} of themselves wee shall find truer Judgm^{ts} of y^{e} Sun Moon & starrs farr off as they are, then of w^{t} falls within y^{e} sphear of a mortall cranium Not one of Many thousands is so candid with himself as to be just in his owne private Esteem, but will Either Exalt his personall merit above w^{t} is due, or arrogate Merit where there is No reason att all for it And this is found in all orders of men, and degrees of understanding, the whole race of mankind failing more or less in this particular So that If wee look for perfect Integrity it is Not to be found, and wee must lett y^{e} better & least depraved pass as such, meaning them when wee speak of the perfection

I have often Reflected on the caus of such p^{r}cipitous Error so generally found, and can ascribe it to Nothing but pravity of will or choice wee would be p^{r}ferred, tho by injustly depressing others, If wee have o^{r} humour wee care Not who suffers This pravity of will, is but an Excess, wee will with a passion what is aggreable And will not muster any force opposed to this propension but yeild to y^{e} pleasure it gives us The passion y^{t} disables us, is Joy a sure bait for humane frailty So y^{t} Judgm^{t} is a slave to desire, and must give way, as to a torrent But still there is found more & less, as In all other Extravagancys some are more Resigned to willfull Error then Others, the best yeild somewhat, and those who strive most to be Retained in bounds, are y^{e} Most vertuous Wherefore Considering that the Judgm^{t} hath passion to deal with, in all Reflex deliberations,

and Cannot without strife arrive neer a just self-value, where it succeeds tollerably, & proves favourable, the victory is more Eminent, and Call it pride, or what you will, it is certeinly an Exercise
124v off vertue be the result w^t it will, y^e proceeding being / with Integrity of Mind, the action is vertuous, and Never to be Repented I thinck it our duty to thinck Justly of our selves, If it produce not the better opinion, y^e Effect may be an Endeavour to mend, If y^e better, the lawfull pleasure of Content So here wee Rest y^e whole matter Truth & falshood, Joyned with an Integrity or pravity In the scruting of it, determines y^e point of vertuous or vicious pride In y^e Minds of Men Whereby wee conclude that pride as such is Not allwais a vice, but onely as it is tainted with willfull falsity and (being built in Comparison) (5) Injustice And that it May & often is, an Excellent vertue, as much as any other to be Recomended, while it is y^e Result of upright & Judicious determination

Here wee are but half way, there Remaines to Consider of actions, as well as thoughts, be y^e latter free, y^e others must submitt to prudence ffor the Infringem^t of y^e prudent part with y^e vulgar Inflicts y^e Caracter of a visious pride whatever truth or reason may be opposed And In this buissness wee have as firme a bottom to lean upon as In the other, but In the application to particulars there is Infinite variety, w^ch cannot be all displayed but Must be left to w^t wee call discretion, that acts upon occasion I made truth and Integrity to be the criterium of a vertuous pride In Thought, without Regard to action, Now I must Establish that the reall good of the Concerned consistent with y^e good of Mankind, or Neighbourhood In generall ought to be y^e scope of all our deliberate actions speeches & particularly with Respect to pride wherefore such actions speeches or behaviour as tend to Encourage vertue amity & happy living, however valuing or undervaluing of ourselves, are vertuous & comendable, & y^e Contrary vicious, and detestable So here wee have a paralell, truth & falsity as to y^e mind, usefullness or Mischeif, as to y^e actions Into w^ch substantiall & clear principles all y^e Infinite variety of cases and disputes touching vertuous or vicious pride are Resolved I shall onely touch upon some few particulars, more as Instances to support this method of proceeding then as comprehending y^e subject, for that is too wide for my poor Capacity /

125r And first I may p^rsume to lament the Impolitick Envious disposition of this age, w^ch by battering downe all sort of self-praise, or Glory, Is deprived of y^e advantage former ages & people had by the wonderfull attempts of high spirits, ffor y^e publik good The gener ous part of Mankind will allwais aim at somewhat Extraordinary,

give them their pride, wch Costs ye publik Nothing, and they are satisfied. And In hopes of this onely, they will venture perdue (6), and wch is very strang, ffor the conceit that when lost & dead their honnour shall live. But If In stead of granting this Encouragemt, wee on ye other side Enviously Reproach them ffor foolhardyness & vaine glory, such great Spirits (who will not Rest) leav ye publik & divert all their force to private Interest, & fall to undermining, and supplanting Governements, and trouble ye Comon peace of ye world, to find where with all to ffeed their active & aspiring genius (7). I sayd & I thinck Truly, that this moved from an Envious disposition. I may add that the satiricall humour Now so Much in fashion Is a branch of ye Same root. detraction is ye Most aggreable witt, and takes place of profaness & obscenity it self. whatever bespatters & durtys the Reputation of others Is Recd as value added to our selves, and all comendation as so much detraction of or owne worth. When Men are Conscious of baseness in themselves they cannot bear praise of others, ffor that Enlargeth ye Gulph between them & Merit. Thus Envie, wch is a Counterfett despairing pride, Robbs the worthy of their prais, and the publick of advantages from honourable actions. and Makes No distinction, but wtEver ye Case is, or honourable ye person & his actions, If he take a liberty of asserting them, tho Not beyond due allowance of value, he is stained & detracted, and his actions falsified & Rediculed, In ye Same manner as were too Much ffor ye Meanest ffopp. But if this publik Mobb be in a fright, then they will Idolise any foreward person, who will putt foreward into danger ffor their sakes, and be as firce In ye other Extream. till they are Safe; then they Relaps Into Envie & detraction againe and shall spitt upon their prservers. It is No wonder yt wee have No publik spirits; this satiricall humour, turnes all from honnour, to Interest. And it
125v. seems / That this very Mischeif hath fforct Governours In former times to Invent titles of honour, as a warrant ffor Men to boast of what is well done; and to suppress, as Much as may be ye spirit of Destruction (8). for were Men allowed Either In their speech, habits, or some Ensigne, to appropriate to themselves the prais of great & generous actions, There would be No Suing for titles; and Men Needed not be called out to bravery, their owne aspiring thoughts would prompt them to action, when ye Reward was in their owne power. But now the Matter of titles being Made hereditary Come by descent to (9) worthless heirs as also by corruption of times are given for favour or flattery & Not for Merit, there is No Encouragemt left ffor any thing but right downe selfishness and Combinations of Invasive Usurpers (10), and all true honr is ceast. It is

very ordinary Now ffor Men to boast, but it is out of policy & trick, & not consciousness of worth honr & Reputation is the word, perpetually Inculcated, and perhaps prserved in slight Matters, wherein there is No great profit or loss So that If Reputation can be purchast by actions otherwise prudent to be done, ye bargaine is so Much Improved (ffor there is In process of things a certein gaine belongs to Reputation) But when a Substantiall tryall Comes, and very Much is to be ventured, then stand by Reputation, ye Camel is to be swallowed (11) whereby it is manifest that wee Regard Not things, but our owne Self Interest In them, and to that sacred deity all honnour & Integrity must give place

But to leav this Emportemt wch hath bin too Wordy for a digression, I Returne to the notes I Intended touching behaviour, with Respect to pride, and grounded on this principle, that wee are bound to determine our actions so as may be rather beneficiall then hurtfull to orselves & to our Neighbours, or Company

It is hard to pronounce certeinly any thing upon this subject, becaus all Must be Referred to particular circumstances of Custome, persons & opinions ffor the same Conduct may be prudent or otherwise as those vary, so In the main, all must be generall discretion

The Shew of pride is Either by words or signes words are when men actually Relate their owne performances with caracters Exprest
126r or Insinuated signes are Either / In ye behaviour of ye person, or his habits & attendances

1 As to words, generally speaking it is best to decline all sort of self-praise, and I Remember one use to say that the pronounes possessive should be left out of all language, as, self, my, me & ye Rest Meaning that or discours should Not terminate in one's self Reasons may be many, as yt supposing the discours is onely ffor ye pleasure ye person hath in Relating his owne Story with advantage to himself, It is a meer vanity, becaus neither he Nor any Els profits by it, and wch is more considerable (for vanity is ye worst of reasons agt a pleasure) one is apt to polish a discours by adding or Enlarging, or omitting, beside truth, to Make it More creditable to us, wch is In short lying, of wch ffew, If I sayd None I should not ly, are free that tell Storys of themselves It is no wonder that I cannot but have this opinion of Every self-historian, becaus I find I cannot forbear ye like tho I labour against it wch Makes me alwais loath to tell, wt I have done, and after all in ye fewest words I can But further, It is seldome but boasting raith [sic] Envie, or a disposition to Contradict, If not openly, Silently, and In absence, with spight Enough ffor boasting In Company

Implys a comparison, prjudiciall to ye comp.a wch of all things is detested. And it is a symptome of a vicious pride, becaus there is a vulgar opinion yt true worth is silent. So Not onely ye Comp.a is scandalised, or moved to vice or Spight on their parts, wch is allwais to be avoided, but you also loos ye Credit you had or So much as yt discours is Judged Extravagant, or they Construe it.

This of Meer boasting, but If it be with Reflection, as by Express Comparisons It is Intollerable, becaus there is No sort of Mischeif In society, wch It doth Not stirr up. opposition, contradiction, brawling, Quarrelling, fighting etc. Therefore that is to be forborne In all cases wt Ever without Exception.

But yet In many Cases self-prais, or history is Not onely tollerable so as to be Indulged, but very usefull, & not to be omitted but strictly Required, & that may be If a Rabble are (as for ye Most part) bent upon Mischeif, and you would get Credit, whereby to prvent them, & can doe it, by Setting out yr owne worth, as shall
126v. take with them. / In yt and all like Cases it is both fitt and a duty to doe it; and this Conduct was ordinary In the Greetian & Roman Republiks where that senceless beast ye people bore ye sway, and by None more then Tully himself, who in latter ages is censured for it, but Conducing to his Ends, as It did very Much, he was to be Excused. But I doe thinck that the fluency of his owne praises In all his speeches shews yt he was very full of ye Subject, & Inclined to vicious pride, wch is arrogating More worth then was due to him (12). It is a maxime in severall languages that you shall be Esteemed according as you Esteem yrself. wch means that If a Man hath Not ye advantage of acting in publick so as his worth may appear, he Must set himself out or be unknowne. And to Inferiors In place and understanding, It passeth well Enough, but to Equalls is Most Malignant. And ordinary people, to those above them, are as white paper, Indifferent to thinck well, or Ill; so that ye first Impression, tho from ye party Interested, takes place. as In ye trick at cards, say choos a card, & then prferr yt you would have him take, & by determining ye Indifference without thinking or observing it is taken. If there be an authority as well as superiority, wch guards the person from Envy, as well as from censure, it is very usefull to boast, or rather it is Not boasting, but a sort of persuading, & a violent one. This is when parents or Masters Encourage their children or Servants by telling what they have done, Then wch a More powerfull Motive Could Not be Invented, ffor they will attend to an Example, and Strive to Imitate, who Will Not Entertein a Reason or Councell however Cogent.

Here wee Regard usefullness; shall wee Exclude ye pleasure of

boasting wholly, becaus a degenerous age will Not Endure it? No, there is one Case, wch admitts that, & Ever will, and I know No pleasure humane Nature can Imagin to it self, wch doth Not fall within yt circle. I mean ye Embraces of a true Ingenious & hearty freind. And to accomplish yt caracter, I should add of ye female sex. for I doe affirme there cannot be a perfect freindship confind to Either Sex, but Must partake of both, becaus that Intire & un-
127r. limited freedome / wherein yt perfection Resides, is onely there. with such a freind all liberty of Expatiating is Indulged, & ansd with the like; the world with all its ffetters & chaines is farr off, and Natures bounty is In all Respects Injoyed in perfection. but how rarely this is found, or thought so, without some coar or hidden cancre wch in time breaks out & poysens all, & how often the Contrary Emergeth, wch is So much In Extream ye other way, Is not ffitt ffor one of My small Experience to determine; And it is Enough to owne So much, by way of tast, as may authorise this observation, without possibility of Continuance or ffuture possession. ye want of wch Nothing balanceth but ye fear & danger of ye other Extream ffor allwais ye degrees of paine outstretch those of the opposed Injoyments. So Much ffor words, I come to Signes, of pride & 1. of ye behaviour, wherein speech also, being a sort of behaviour, will be comprised. I shall contract this Matter under a ffew heads.

1. To comport so as to prserve yr owne Esteem & Interest. ffor by that you prserve a power of doing good by perswasion, or authority, & to Enervate opposition. This is done much by an affected humility or Condescention to Inferiors. but it hath so Much of trick that I could hardly bring My self to practise it. The Romans courting ye people, used to shake them by ye hand & to seem to know them & had a Nomenclator behind to Insinuate ye Name. This was necessary there. but considering ye distance between ye prime men who were Rich & Great as kings, & ye Comon Citisens & artisans In Rome, wee should think it a low & abject proceeding. but all is good, yt is Not agt laws sacred or secular & is not onely warranted by Custome but tends to a good End; and all ye buissness of prais & disprais must come to that.

2. To prserve Amity & prvent vice in others. And that is done cheifly by passing so as shall give No occasion to ye Comp.a, to thinck you guilty of vicious pride; Especially If there be Inferiors, who as I said are allwais jealous of Contempt. And to say truth vicious pride in them will not allow any shew of superiority. this Needs onely affability ordinary Saluting & Resaluting, Indifferent subjects to discours on, administring ordinary kindness & service

as occasion is, & ye like wch Every one hath by heart & practises whose head is knowne in any civil Comp.a. I speak of Indifferent people who doe not give, nor Carry about them, any offence. such
127v. have a right to this sort of civility. It is for comon utility to / Afford it, as to take light from ye Candle, wch is gaine to them, & No loss to you. But If ye Nose be tost with a sort of disdaine, & ye language is stiff, and Niggardly, as If ye grandee did a violence to his worth in being there, or past his time In lamenting ye Misfortune of it; or If the discourse be of his owne value, with points & darts at ye comp.a, then begins a yerning In them & Immediately (but Inwardly) they affirme themselves as good as he and run back to fetch his durty grandfather or father from ye Grave to Reproach him. And whither such carriage were naturall (as some are so unhappy) or vicious, It is certein ye Comp.a fall in to ye vice of pride, and sett up their worth above him. they will have it so, reason or Not; And In Consequence Ill Effects ffollow, all wch should be prvented by a civil Comportmt, Easy & Naturall, to all sorts of people, as well poor as Rich. and yet there is an Extream, that is too Much Condescention, wch Makes Contempt, wch is also to be avoided, & must be Referred to discretion, but of the two, Error In condescention is ye best and safest.

I observed that all this was of Indifferent people, for of those all sorts demand a Respect, but If they are Either proud or wicked ye case is altered, and no sort of Respect is due to them (I speak in ye Extream) but all ye slights & satir yt can be putt upon them, are but a Reasonable Correction. I find it In My temper, to Convers with ye poorest in their way and to Indulg their Expectations in ordinary things, without ye least offence or Reluctance; but If I know one to be Either viciously proud or wikedly fals & treacherous, I am Not Easy where they are, and cannot speak without Reflection, all wch is too Much, & should be tempered. but I affirme none is bound to Encourage them att all. but to correct them If possible by a behaviour accordingly. and active civility to them is a fault, It is Enough to be passive & Not quarrell. So If a people be rude & Insolently disposed; curtesie & civility to them is a vice. And they should be roughtly [sic] treated & threatned, and If the worst language, that a well bred person Can utter be bestowed upon them, it is litle Enough; This is ye onely way to curb their barbarous Insolent spirits, wch are but Exasperated by good words. The Contrary of wch proceeding is ffitt ffor ye modest poor , so much doe circumstances vary the methods of treating. /

128r. So also In the Case of Magistrates, & Great Men; all, Especially those who have the charg of justice & order, ought to maintaine as

sacred the power of doing good. such ought to counterfet pride, If they have it Not Naturally and to appear rarely, and In pomp, that the Solemne shew of power, might lay hold of Ignorant Minds, as it usually doth, & so Coerceth them More then actuall punishment, from less ostentation.

But to Returne to y^e^ private, w^ch^ is Most Concerned with Equalls; behaviour should be so ordered as to Encourage vertue in others; w^ch^ is a thing of great art. as ffor Instance in giving an opinion on any subject Moved, It may be done in such a different Manner, as shall Make it Rec^d^ or Rejected. ffor if it carrys a secret reproach of Ignorance in others, they, for y^t^ very caus, will Rebell ag^t^ common sence rather then be of y^t^ Mind. So that o^r^ sentiments Especially If they have any thing in them opposed to a p^r^sent humour, should be insinuated, or darted as Coming from another place, and so drawne out, as If it came from the sence of the company & not from you. And Reprehension will Not take If it be barefac't. but Must Come like a Comicall satir in a Masq, by a fable or Jest Related. Then by its Naturall glue, it shall cleav to a tainted conscience, & y^e^ party Rest Silent for fear of discovery, thincking as woodcocks he is Not seen (13). Nay this Matter of Reprehension is so Nice, that freind to freind Cannot use it without art, but It shall shake y^e^ foundations of the amity. No words can be too hard for Caption & Misconstruction, so that however well an admonition is drest it is pervertible to a wors sence then Intended. And our owne Infirmity should Make us Cautious, ffor y^e^ best are apt to Excesses In favour of themselves & Reproof of others, and Consequently lyable to slipp Expressions a little tainted with y^t^ partiality. But where is y^t^ More then humane freindship I spoke of, w^ch^ is proof ag^t^ these attaqs; w^ch^ hath so clear an Intuition of Mutuall Confidence, benevolence & fidelity, to Rest secure on that, and Esteem words and Expressions as fallacious Colours that accident alters while y^e^ substance & weight Nothing can temerate? surely It is but In Image & Not in reality, ffor Els there were a transcendence beyond w^t^ is yet Revealed in humanity. /

128v. I must Not pass without Noting, & particularly, the great danger of a favourable self-opinion. As it is the cheif vertue of y^e^ mind, to make a true Estimate of it self, so is it y^e^ Greatest Strength of the will, to p^r^vent an unreasonable discovery, from some sort of affectation. In truth, y^e^ best know Enough to be mortified, but comparatively, there is often so great a distance of worth that where it is discerned, y^e^ Joy & passion it raiseth obliterates all thats ag^t^ it, and y^e^ Reins are slakned so that y^e^ speech & actions will ffollow the flattering sentiments, If Not Curbed by a sort of violence of

reason ag^{t} Nature. Thus Many Excellent persons have lost Reputation, and I have Not knowne a Great spirit in y^{e} world that hath Not actually vaunted it Self In publik, as Hobbs, Cartesius, Scaliger, vossius etc. Granting all those knew their force & strength of Mind to be Extraordinary, they should not have discovered, or at least Not declared their small Esteem, of their Cotemporarys. ffor however true, the world as Now fashioned, doth Not allow of bragging; In a lower order of Men, such as pass promiscuously, Either in Expression, or Gesture wee may see the measure of self-opinion. And it is very strang to consider that y^{e} Rabble of Mankind is look't upon by all Individualls as mean & contemptible, nay y^{e} whole species is undervalued with Regard to Every ones self. I Say It is strang that such a despicable lump, should be composed all of such sublime & highminded particulars. The Effect of this is, that all are Enterteined with laughing at & despising one & other. Therefore one y^{t} is wise should If possible be devided from them, and whatever good Conceipt he hath, give as little occasion as Is possible for others to deride him, as they will most Egregiously, If he discovers a self conceipt. Therefore it is to be lay'd downe as a rule, that y^{e} display of ones owne worth is Never to be done ffor y^{e} meer gusto of it, but upon reason, & In order to buissness, as I toucht before, or to an Intimate freind with whome all franchise of mind & person is Reciprocally Indulged. And the carriage for obteining this temper lys partly in y^{e} Negative, that is Gravity & solemnity, Joyned with familiarity & Eas to Comp.^{a} so that on one side, the State and silence argue not an Inward pride, Nor the over buissy & Impertinent familiarity & obsequiousness a servile light spirit, but one tempers the other, and obviates Misconstruction on both sides; If you ask for an Example of this, It is so hard to be found that after all y^{e} Inquisition I can Make I must Returne to y^{e}
129r. Self for an ans^{w}. / It is, I thinck the hardest thing, of a Necessary duty, such as I Esteem it, In order to pass Indifferently in y^{e} world, Not to affect. And therefore when by neglect or accident habits are once acquired, it is almost Impossible to shake them off but sometimes like our Involuntary vitall actions (14), they will Impose, Even ag^{t} our mind and Intentions. therefore No time, nor labour or Endeavour is lost, Imployed in Curbing all Manner of action or gesture Extraordinary. I know there is a grace or decorum of action, as of Dress, & all other things; or that w^{ch} takes without censure, and is rather praised then despised. but this is for y^{e} Most part Native & Not acquired. And whoever strives to reach it, shall loos ground, and Instead of advancing step backwards. It is No More acquirable, after the patterne of another, then y^{e} air or complexion

of face is. wee see trades & professions musick for Example, painting wrighting or any thing, hath In some a transcendence or singularity wch no other can attaine. perhaps in another kind ye scollar shall Excell, but Not in ye Same, tho Imitation in that, will goe farr, & is Endured, & often Comended; but In action & behaviour Imitation of others (wch is for ye Most part the aim of affectation) is allwais Rediculous. It speaks consciousness of defect, and an Impotent ambition to be like somewhat as much despised, & that often speaks Ignorance as well as pride. This is Not agt learning (as custome is) (15) ffor that is the onely way to prvent affectation. ffor patternes of ye best sort are chosen and proposed; and so by Instruction & Example, that very Carriage is taught wch is desired, and in ye age wch is propen[se] for forming of Habits, whereby Not onely such as are Esteemed Gracefull are acquired, but Stiff & ill Imitated gestures & habits prvented. Actions cannot be taken on the suddain; but (as a tune) is learn't by often tryall, practice, Erring & being set right. And it is Impossible for any not Educated to a free behaviour In comp.a, to obteine it by meer aping; without practise & Instruction. but that apet behaviour shall be Stiff & uncouth, such as wee see in clowns, who would speak & congee, as they thinck Gentlefolks doe. The same is seen, More or less in others of higher Rank. And of those yt are Most Exquisitely taught many never take ye right air. And on ye other side Many untaught, shall from their reason & observation contract a reasonable carriage,
129v. wch tho Not up to ye artificiall pitch shall / pass tollerably, and ye More by so Much as is less prtended. And the stepps or means is, by wt I mentioned, striving to doe Nothing rather then Not be Safe in wt is done. It being ye Comon Country Error to act in ceremoniall behaviour, More then is needfull, as If it were for ye sake of the ceremony, and Not ye freindship. Therefore to Conclude, If any one can obtein an Easy passiveness in Company, so as Not to shew Either contempt or Concerne, speak little, but as occasion calls, plaine & Reasonable, & to avoid dullness, & fill ye Enterteining part, use No action unnecessarily, and, upon occasions, but little; Not to be wanting In formes of attendance, wch Custome Calls for, and In short Not actually to despise Ceremony, but Comport, as (16) free and loos of thought, Easy within as well as without, and in ye maine, benevolent & frendly; such a one Cannot fall under ye Censure of pride, or self conceipt.

I should speak of one other considerable signe of pride & that is Habits. I doe Not know any dumb symptome so Much Indicative of the secretest & Most Reserved pride as that is. some that In behaviour shall be obsequious & Humble, Even to flattery, will by

dressing proclaime y^e^ Conceipted Coxcomb. others more rude and slovenly shall by affectation of y^e^ Extream discover the same. And altho Mode, that is so arbitrary In matter of habits, as one would thinck, should set all upon a levell, & determine matters, leaving litle or Nothing to Caprice; yet there will be apparent, Either some concerne or passion about choice, & circumstance, or singularity in Colour, manner, or quality of a Garb, as shall lay open y^e^ very Cabinett of y^e^ braine. And such as watch ffor Cullys have no Signe of a quarry, like to Dressing. And to give it its true Caracter, the over Much solicitude about it, is peculiar to children & weak persons. But after all, wee have No outward Grace, or decorum from any thing so Much as habits; as Nothing deserves more y^e^ care of persons, whose Interest & p^r^ferment depends on y^e^ ornament of their person, w^ch^ is y^e^ case of Most ladys. ffor as y^e^ Cours of y^e^ world is, ffew pass y^e^ outward garb, In placing their affection, and setting aside Mony, y^e^ Comon Mistress, beauty or personall Grace, Rides admirall. /

130r. It hath bin a subject of a discours among y^e^ franch gallanterys, where they shew their witt in Maintaining triviall paradoxes, that pride is a vertue in a woman. others have comended Jealoucy, wifes having honorary Gallants & y^e^ like. But In y^t^ of pride, y^t^ opinion is raised onely from being a guard to her hon^r^, and it were well if y^e^ fair sex could value themselves on a better; but ffor searching it to y^e^ bottom, as I have Endeavoured, I doe not know they have done. however wee agree in y^e^ End. And for y^e^ Same reason that pride is good in a woman, it is also In a man, who hath his hon^r^ as sacred to himself as hers, tho Not so fatall in a crack (17), as hers is. And as this allow^d^ terme hon^r^, is No other then pride, a litle wipet over, it May pass as a considerable vertue and Much to be urged upon Indifferent & docile Spirits, as the best guard of all Manner of vertue & Morality. And surely a discreet pride is a Most desirable accomplishment. But o^r^ buissness is that part w^ch^ brancheth out In ordering the dress, to w^ch^ it is time to Returne. But it shall be dispatcht onely in a few short Notes becaus when a like leisure time offers, I may trouble you with More of this sort of stuff under y^e^ title Breeding (18), wherein I have already too Much dabled, for one y^t^ pretends to so litle.

The Judgm^t^ of Dressing lys Not in lustre, but choice; & lustre is a fault, unless in y^e^ Case of Great ones for distinction, and solemne pomp, where y^e^ shew is all, but y^e^ person suffers by luster neer it, and gaines by appearing as from y^e^ dark, becaus In similars, as sun & starrs, for light, as also Noises, and all other objects of Sence, y^e^ greater drowne y^e^ less (19); but In opposites as light &

darkness, one sett's off & augments ye other, wch painters know, and care not to bring white too Neer a face, ffor ye countenance of any person, Especially prtending to beauty, hath somewhat of light & spirit Inimitable, and is much Either mended or spoiled by dressing. All that speaks a light trivall mind, hurts ye face as fantasticall sen[celess], affectation of dress, as some have, thincking to be sett off Extraordinarily. ffor there is an unaccountable value
130v. derived to ye outward garb of any person, from an opinion / of the weight within. I sayd unaccountable, knowing it is so, but In No sort how or why. Therefore it Concernes any one to Consider In dressing, what language it speaks, ffor ye End is obteined or lost accordingly, yt is Esteem an[d] disesteem, attends ye Event. That Mortall passion, celebrated in ye style of love, grows more out of value then forme, tho ye latter May call upon ye traveler, as funerall Inscriptions use, to stay & know wts ye matter; but If it sound light & hollow, he passeth to another More firme that will Endure ye weight of a passion. The cheif Caus I can guess at, is this. a passion Expects a Returne, and a slight mind, wtever ye face is, gives No assurance to be depended on for it. Then taking it for Granted, as ye truth is that Esteem is ye End of Dressing, It is to be Regulated by ye Opinion of others & Not of orSelves. that childish tho ordinary speech, what care I so long as I pleas my self, shews a vanity of ye Most despicable rank. ffor wt a foolish thing is it to be pleased with a gay thing? or Indeed any Mode when In reality all modes are in themselves Indifferent and Imposed onely by opinion & Expectation of people wch demands a Conformity under ye paine of censure for singularity. I grant some may have advantages of fortune person or ye like, Nay an humour, so as to be, or thinck themselves above censure, it is Reasonable for them to Slight Dressing. If the persons yt come in or way are freinds or Inferiors, wch Either Indulg or will of cours allow wtEver wee doe, wt vanity is it to be solicitous about a Nothing, as dressing is. So that Wtever Retired persons doe yong ladys & gentlemen of address & forewardness, must take care of dressing as a considerable Ingredient in their practise, & utensil of their Calling.

Now the question comes what Esteem is to be thus Courted? for opinions are various; I ansr, the Esteem of the best & wisest, but If there be particular Engagemts, the Esteem of those whom wee Court, or are Engaged to oblidg. The latter belongs to ye towne, court & Company. the other Is not so Restrained but takes in greater latitude as the choice is more dilated. Therefore wee must collect If wee can wt opinions the wisest persons have of dressing.

1. Cleanness is generally Expected, and be ye Mode Wt it will

that is allwais Exacted, and to say truth however ye habit is Neglected in other Respects, If that be Maintained, all is well. /

131r. 2. A care to appear rather Not a slighter of Dress then fond of it. for being of it self an Indifferent thing a fondness of it, is as a fondness of an Intrinsicall Nothing and makes but a Mean caracter. this some have done by affecting Colours like ye Grounds of portrait pictures dusky, as Not to be seen, if possible; with Imbroidery of ye same or neer, as done for conformity, and rather to be concealed, then blazoned (20).

3. To use Most what is found suiting ye air of ye person; ffor there is a judgment of becoming wch ye french call bien-sceance, or sitting well. It is strang how good dresses, & rich, ill become some persons. and how some particular Manners of dressing adorne others, tho in ordinary-cheap-stuff, from the very disposition & agreemt with ye person. this Comes under No rule, & has No Name, but ye Ingenious of both sexes doe by observation for ye most part find it out, & are knowne by it. And this is so sacred a proceeding in dressing that Even Mode it self gives, In great Measure, place to it; ffor Such persons wtEver ye Mode is, will convert it, & Make it Consist with their owne particular air & Manner of Dressing.

4. When there is diversity of Mode, as often happens so yt one part is more upon ye fantasticall then ye other, alwais choos ye less fantasticall, wch amounts to ye Comon rule, not to be first in a fashion. for it is seldome but ye first In New fashions, are like ye chaff, & dust wch ye wind first takes up.

5. And lastly to dress so as that It May appear you doe Not set yr value upon that, but on more substantiall Conscious worth. and beleev that, Notwithstanding all ye flattery & Importunity of fools, that the weight at length carryes ye scales. And not onely good husbandry, or the using long ye Same habits, & Not affecting allwais New (wch they Call being knowne by it) is No less a vertue in dressing, when it is well managed & Not Extream, and stamps as much credit, as all ye Elegance & Riches In ye world. as you will beleev, Rembring [sic] that ye Esteem of ye wise, & not ye foolish world is Sought. /

131v. I would End with a note or two, wherein outwardly it May be Indulged to Exercise a lawfull vertuous pride, without trenching upon prudence, wch is a slave to Custome.

1. In the Matter last discourst, dressing: it is certeinly a Mark of self Esteem, to slight it, and of ye Contrary to Court it; ffor a person sensible of true worth, will not hunt for appearances, and being conscious of No real value, will allwais be holding forth Such outside varnishes. so ye Most crooked & deformed persons

are apt to dress high, but Instead of Mending, they draw More Eys upon their deformitys.

2. Retirement or Solitude. y^e^ Joy of w^ch^ is knowne onely to the wise. I doe Not mean an Eremiticall [absence] from y^e^ world, but a Reserved cours of life, not following the herd of aiery buisy people. And adhering to proper Imployments, transacting with such as have buissness, and managing the fortune reasonably; the Rest for pleasure wherein Eas & Quiet of Mind hath y^e^ Greatest share. I may say of Solitude as a devine say'd of fasting, that It did not consist in Not Eating, so solitude is Not being alone, but without Impertinent Comp.^a^. It is certein Retirem^t^ is Not Injurious to any, besides Neer Relations who are out of y^e^ p^r^sent consideration; If it be too much in comon opinion, y^e^ Error is on y^e^ Right side, and if No other, this Gaine is had in it, that w^t^ever fools say, wee have not y^e^ fastidium of hearing it.

3. Not flattering any; It is and Must be an obsequious servility to lett foolish & wicked discours pass with assent, silent or Exprest, unless the comp.^a^ be promiscuous & then its prudence to be gon with y^e^ first opportunity, rather then clash. But among freinds such freedome is the Result & benefit of freindship, or it is worth Nothing. But knowing the p^r^judices to be Engagem^ts^, or Invincible, it is but prudent not to move upon them. Els to call a spade a spade, and be frank & clear, and Ever choos to lean to y^e^ side of truth, is a security & bravery, such as a free spirit may Justifie to take pride in.

I Might Mention more but y^t^ paper, pen, time, and to say truth lassitude it self, crys too much. tho If I thought you could be as well Enterteined with reading, as I have bin with wrighting, stiff Nonsence, I should never End.

BM, Add.MSS. 32523

132r. Breeding

yr Acceptance of ye former papers wch bore an hint of these, amounts to a Just demand of ye latter; And I should fear the title above would rise up in Charg, If one of the primary Institutions of it were broke by a non complaisance to such an oblidging Invitation. And that Institution is to Conforme in all things agreable to ye ladys, however wee are Exposed, In point of vanity & Emptyness. their diversion is a Conversion of Such censures into Reputation; and Even our failings creep up to perfections when accepted in their Service. Now one would thinck, here were a Romance coming, & this ye fulsome dedication; or as citisens of ye world, Conforming to Custome, at a ball or promenade, wee Courted wee knew not who, or why; but, as by way of tribute to ye fair sex, wee were displaing Gallanteries, & devotion, reall or feigned, such as Custome Makes their due; & all ye while fforgett wee are at home, with a freind wch circumstance, In so many plaine words is an Engagemt above all things Els; And there that is at home forme & fiction hath No share; And the most sacred sincerity, without Reserve, is ye least duty. This state of the concerne is Not to be sullyed by collating it with ye former, wch from that Must vanish as smoak, from flame. Now you have that wch hath drawne me out beyond My nature or capacity, to discours of breeding; It is that wch I had No means of learning Early; & now it is too late to begin, at least ye practiq; therefore what I venture at here you must pass on ye acc.o of right reason, rather then Experience or observation, whereof I have but a Small share; and ffor ye other, I shall not Excuse ye Exility of it to you, that have often dispenc't with greater failings then are like to follow here. but to ye Matter.

Breeding is a branch of that wee Call morality, the old words & new agree in it. In Greek Ethicks & In latine Morality, & in English Manners, have the Same signification (21); and taking it in ye full
132v. latitude / The science of Morality, or Ethicks, wch ffilled the wrightings of the old philosofers, & now the sermons of our best preachers, and that of Good breeding is one & the same. I Grant partiall kind of breeding may be found in some; as at an Enterteinemt, A person may appear very adroit, and in buissness the same person shall appear brutish, & Ill bredd. Therefore it is Not any particular [garb], but a generall, I might Say universall good Carriage make's the Caracter of a true well bred person. And therefore I Inferr that No Man can be sayd to be such, that is Not honest & good Natured.

And those 2 qualitys, shall Natively & without designe produce such a decorum of behaviour as shall make a better appearance then any taught carriage without it; So I must Not quitt that Maxime that honesty & Good Nature is Necessary to good breeding. But becaus this Notion is Not ordinarily had off it, wee must Comply, and take but a part of Morality, that wch Concernes outward behaviour onely for ye present Subject. Therefore supposing ye whole distributed into Justice, temperance & behaviour, wee have to doe onely with ye latter, and omitt Entring into ye larg feild of the other Morall vertues, for fear of being wildered & lost.

Nor will wee trouble orselves with spinning a fine distinction between No breeding, and ill breeding. The Ancients Expres't ye former by ye word Insolence (22), or unwontedness, and is altogether a defect, the other is positive & what wee Call rude or Sawcy. both will fall in with ye discriptions wee shall give.

Being well bred is No other then an art habituated of passing ye time in Idle Company, with Eas profit & delight to yr self, & them. I say, Idle; Not Excluding conversation In buissness; for there scarce can be any such meeting, but great part of ye time is spent upon forme, and the avenews or approaches to ye Matter wch is of ye same consideration as Idle Company. And if the buiss-
133r. ness it self be forme, & ceremony as among / Statesmen & Embassadours, it is still of ye same Stamp, so If it Relates to favour or Interest, wch is for ye Most part all ceremony; But If the buissness be really weighty, then as to so Much of ye Conversation it is [a] matter of Justice & prudence, wch wee layd aside before. I sayd, *with Eas to yr Self.* for without that it is Impossible ye comp.a should be Easy. paine & torment is seen in ye Countenance, as wee call Making faces, & it is well knowne that few spectators can forbear doing ye like In Compassion. And this happens Not onely in Extremitys, but also In all degrees proportionably, therefore a cheerfull posture within is Necessary to the forming a pleasant Conversation to ye Company. And by ye way, this is one reason why designing fals people are Seldome Easy in Idle conversation, for they have So Much constraint in their minds by striving to act fals parts, that they Come out stiff and formall. And there is No better way to Conceal this light shining on their behaviour then by taking a part professedly stiff & formall, such as sectary teachers use. I sayd *with delight* becaus there must be action & discours to give life to Conversation; it will Not subsist with all passives, as silence & Rest, like a quakers meeting. There must be discours offered, & attended to; & condescentions of superiors to oblidg Inferiors; display of witt; various applycations as occasion shall

Require, & ye like; wch to be well performed is ye Most difficult part. there is Such Caption to be made at words, and such a grace or Indecorum to be observed in Motions, few can well performe it. therefore the Negative Carriage is for ye Most part to be Chosen, as may be done, when there is Enow in their (23) turnes to supply ye other, & to whome it More properly belongs. ffor wee are ordinarily Content with Such a carriage, and whoever passeth without offence or blame from ye Company, is Not an ill bredd man.

This being the truest acc.o I can give of breeding In generall, The Next thing is to unfold the Composition and to shew of what
133v. materiall and parts it is Made. / It seems hard to find out any thing of it founded in Nature, as the love of Men and weemen allways is & in all ages & places ye same, but rather thatt all of it is Relative to the opinions & prjudices of persons dealt with, according to ye Infinite variety of Ages, Nations and professions of Men; and that it is to be Regulated, and shaped accordingly. Therefore the same garb or Carriage may be well, or ill bredd, as Regard is had to these varietys; Nay that wch is Now ye cheif article, Eas, In other times would not pass muster; ffor ceremony & stiff formality was then Imputed as Respect; and In Italy it is so at this day (24). wch gives us a plaine Example of this arbitrarious Government of opinion and Custome in Matter of civility. ffor At ye tour of Coaches In Hydepark, acquaintance salute by bowing once & No More, least ye frequency of ye ceremony be troublesome. but at ye like In Rome Each person Must Salute Every other passing, acquaintance or Not, with such overstrained reverence, as If nothing less then precipitation out of ye coach were sufficient; and the stoutest performer in this Exercise is best bred there. In England, all persons bow to ye K. or Royall Blood passing, but In france Not; but all stand still & often covered (25); and there is great reason on ye french side. ffor ceremony naturally Requires a Return of ye like, ye prince Must Either make such Returne, or seem proud, wch putts ye difficulty upon Him. It is Related yt ye late D. Bucks when Emb.r in france (26), was taken into familiarity of ye K. there. and ones passing at a door, ye K. sd Allez Mons.r, but he stopt & Repplyed, N'appartien a Moy (27). So ye King passed first. this was the onely Instance of his mistaking In point of breeding there. ffor he had ye English humour, of disputing with superiors agt Condescentions offered. whereas he ought to have Complyed without a word; & to have knowne that would be most agreable, as it was Most reasonable, ffor it was No Case to argue prference between them two, as disputing Implyed. There was a time when In England taking tobacco was a prime accomplishment of ye beau-

Garçons and there was not a better Garb of address to the ladys then in y^e^ Menage of a pipe, and discoursing gentily In pretty Intervalls, with smoak intersperst, w^ch^ supplyd y^e^ frequent vacations of witt.
134r. Now it is declared odious / To smoak where ladys have to doe (28). And In my Memory, the Custome of saluting before & after pledg, as to y^e^ latter half is layd aside, w^ch^ formerly had bin stupid Negleckt, If not an Express slight or affront (29). a world of like Instances may be given, to shew there is No universall Caracter of good breeding, the Currency whereof is purely from y^e^ Stamp of Custome & opinion. And this is one maine reason, why I confine breeding to behaviour onely, abstract from other Celebrated Morall vertues, w^ch^ are of a very different Consideration, as to all Manner of rule, or precept. ffor the latter are y^e^ same universally & Immutably, but y^e^ other is a Meer proteus (30) & Never y^e^ Same long together, or as a Camelion, of the Immediate fashion & Mode of times & Countrys, where it is profest.

But to Resume the distinction before toucht, between passive & active breeding, I may Recomend y^e^ former, as that w^ch^ is most after naturall reason, and attainable. and In Regard humanity is made of like stuff, & subject to y^e^ like sence & passions In all ages & places, wee may ffind some marks of direction for this, w^ch^ may ffitt most occasions. Becaus also y^e^ Conduct is Negative and consists in avoiding Error or offence. and one well weighed in this method of thinking & practice may convoy himself in Most places, & Company without breaking upon any hard censure. but y^e^ Active breeding is much More dangerous in y^e^ practise & for y^e^ Most part splitts upon affectation (31), of w^ch^ Enough afterwards.

In the passive Carriage, all y^e^ Errors are on y^e^ right side, and If y^e^ behaviour be faulty, Modesty, a more comendable quality, steps in to Mend or Excuse it; and there will be a favour & Indulgence, tho Not strict approbation. the cheif cure is Not to doe any thing, without some clear reason for doing it, but to doe onely for doing sake, or for shew, is rank affectation. It is Not good to speak, at least not forewardly, without a prime place in y^e^ Company. but to ans^r^ others readily, plaine, & to y^e^ porpose Expected and No
134v. More, leaving as litle room for farther question / as is possible is an accomplishm^t^ w^t^ever y^e^ manner is. use No gesture to draw y^e^ Ey to it, for there is a poyson in looks, & If they find None, they will Make Evil. And to sume all Into one portrait or Image of passive breeding, act & Comport as If you were perfectly happy. This is Not by laughing & Capering like children, for that is an Impotence or defect of strength to comand y^e^ passion, Inconsistent w^th^ perfect happyness, & Is never to be done, but when y^e^ comp.^a^ is upon y^e^

same merry pin, And then more Moderately then ye Rest; & so being screened or Covered by their Easyness, you may loos ye Reines a litle to the like infirmity without censure. But when one is really & consciously pleased, without vicious pride, and all Conteined prudently without passion or transport, there is such a lustre from it derived to ye face & air of ye person as Cannot be described, and will Certeinly be taking & oblidg ye Company. This is that Garb & air that one would wish his freind, whome he would see advanc't in the favour & opinion of all his Acquaintance; but how hard it is to be assumed by those who have it Not Naturally, is obvious, as also how most fail of their designed accomplishmt, who strive agt Nature to force it upon themselves. So happy is an Easy temper, without discontent or greiving. there is Nothing more true then, to pleas, be pleased. ye Masters of oratory Say, If you would Make yr audience cry, or laugh, doe so yr self (32). and certeinly the Inward sence & affections of most persons, doe almost Infect others they Convers with. If there were No other Reward then this happyness, of an oblidging appearance in all companys, It were worth while to court vertue & philosophy, whereof all yt is good is taken into our Religious prudence; ffor it is a ffull and absolute content & Resolution to be Easy under all Inevitable Circumstances, and an opinion yt or Owne condition is happy, seing Many others less happy, wch Imprints this agreable air I applaud. And I know Not whence that Materiall is to be brought, but from a serious cours of thincking in the stepps of truth, discharging all vanity, fancy & prejudice, as much as is possible. /

135r. But to describe a Carriage a little More particularly. The person must be Composed so as shall appear Most Gracefull (wch some find out of themselves) & least offensive. So as you may Imagine a tradesman would order, If he had ye Selling you in a market ffor a slave, or (as it often proves) when wee offer orselves to sale for slaves to vow In Matrimony. so as ye tradesman would teach, and wee desirous to learne. Upright, grave, proper smiles, unforc't Complyances, without stiffness, [schewing] Much talk, Impotent laughing, or any overdoing what Ever. So Much as to ye passive sort of Carriage. as to ye other, wch Consists Much in ye dexterity of postures, & Movemts, as well as witt & address; and [is] Governed by Custome, & Expectation, I leav to dancing masters & Courtiers, for to say truth, It is what I neither Can understand practise, nor describe. So I pass to the Considerations of ye Many various Circumstances, from persons of Severall sorts & qualitys, wch will affect ye Conduct, and vary all generall rules of Breeding whatever. And of these I shall observe some but Not all, leaving ye Rest to

yr owne Reflection.

1. professions & Imployments distinguish persons so farr that less forme is Expected from them, then from others less Imployed. for they are supposed, as they ought to be so Intent upon their buissness, as to Neglect formes; and they are Indulged in that & in a forgetfullness of what is Exacted from others. There is a peculiar Roughness, wch doth become, & is a separate sort of breeding in Men of buissness & Execution. such as Soldiers, scollars, lawyers, Mechanicks etc. Nay for them to be Exquisite & polite In matters of behaviour were More Censurable then ye other Extream, supposing they past their time in weighing trifles, and driving of ye lint from black with a wett thumb (as ye play describes) (33) and Not in their Studys and Imployments, the fruit whereof is More Esteemed in them then cringing. and If they pass,
135v. giving No gross distast by somewhat very Extravagant, Not / prtending to Gallantrys & ceremonys, wch they Cannot or rather ought Not to understand all is well. And the knowing yt person & profession stamps a licence In these affairs, and If yt person be Not knowne, and by an unwonted behaviour, gives occasion to be Inquired of, so soon as the caracter of a profession is given, the warrant Issues for pardon & dispensation Intirely.

2. As to the Rest of Mankind Not determined (34) to such Indulgences, there are many sorts. Either of ye Same or severall Nations, In our owne, or a forrein Country. and at home, Either freinds, Enimys, kindred & those Superior or Inferior; and so of all ye other Capacitys; and some may partake variously of severall, wch make a variety Not to be trac't. and the Comportmt must be as various, Especially as to ye active, and in great Measure also ye passive. But as for actives, such as Moving discours, Enterteining, raising disputes, and Interposing with ye comp.a In ye comon Concernes of ceremony or pleasure, they must Not be done In all cases alike.

1. Strangers in a Country, cannot discours & act with that assurance as Natives who are ally'd by familys and know Each others Circumstances. therefore Such have ye part of observing & being taught rather then Instructing, or acting; and are to look upon their Company as usefull more for Information and Improvemt then diversion. for that Requires freedome. therefore it is Not Expected strangers should be foreward to propose or lead, but rather modest, & submitt to what the Company propose & offer. and pass ye time between patient attendance on others discours, & Modestly asking wt he would be informed of, & as Readily answering fully what is demanded of him. All wch would make up a very faulty comport

ment of one in the opposite state; as of Natives to Strangers.

As turne ye tables, and lett us be with forreiners in England. it is our parts to propose; and having considered what will be most aggreable to them, advance that; and Not onely readily Informe as
136r. to our Matters but / Incourage them to farther Inquirys by asking of theirs. And So administring all agreable Enterteinemts as Shewing places, curiositys, Customes, & delights, In Such manner as wee may Reasonably Imagin will obledg Strangers, or as wee should desire to be treated in a forrein country, humanely & Easily, whereby wee may Impress a good opinion of or Country, & persons, and Supplying them with all that Either Modesty Nescience or want of language, may obstruct their Calling for.

2. The Comp.a May be freinds, of wch ye perfection is of two, & of the different sexes. Here all Consideration of Breeding is layd aside, and dissolves into a sort of unity of life passion & pleasure. There is a sort of fondness, to wch Many are propens, but is a very Imperfect, If att all, freindship. It is rather a weaknes, wch causeth a yeilding to Naturall Impression, as Children are fond of old Nurses, not out of chois, but whoever hath ye Monky (35). This is Not lasting. and at Most is a passion, or Effervescence of active spirits, and subsides after ye ferment is a little wasted, and often turnes, as generous liquors to vinegar, Into ye other Extream. So as fondness will very often sour into rancour & hatred. But ye true amity wch Makes happy is that wch grows out of Mutuall harmony or liking Cultivated by a series of reciprocall & significative Expressions of it, and frequent as well as sensible Experiences of its inexpressible Injoymts. Here Self is translated, and all ye Care of Each, is in ye other. And truth takes place, wch makes Each Indulg naturall & humane Infirmity in ye Other knowing No persons are free from it, and that none without Indulging can be Indulged. whatever is Judged to be oblidging is held forth, without putting ye others Modesty or tenderness upon ye tenters, as by proposing it (36). Each Studys ye other, and is troubled for fresh Means perpetually to Gratifie. And ye Greatest Care is Not to offend, but [each] oblidgeth even in Infirmity, and however Subsisting
136v. by freedome, Each is content to prsent ye / other with ye liberty of using Many little dissimulations or Coverts wch Naturall modesty, or prjudice of Education hath Impresst an habit off not Easily to be Removed, And in short, Next to Not oblidging fears Nothing more then Suspicion of offence, for reall there can be None. This Case as it rarely, If Ever in ye perfection proposed, happens is beside our porpose, for all art here is an Enimy. and howEver defective friendships may be, wee must take it ffor granted, that as

that Caracter prvailes, so freedome, and Evacuation of formes & ceremonys riseth; where note that much ceremony & true freindship are Inconsistent.

If ye Comp.a be freinds of a baser mettall, or Much allayed from ye purity described, such as wee call old acquaintance, then Enters a freedome, wch would be faulty, Nay Intollerable in promiscuous comp.a that is open admonition, & pointing at failings; free censure of words, & actions, Not without a Merry & affected Captiousness, so that between Jest and Earnest, in a kind of pleasanterie, discover all manner of Reproof (37). Some cannot bear this, and it is from a sence of their owne weakness, as having ye worst and wanting strength of witt to be Revendged, these Never make good freinds to any, unless ye pot, or some other Comon vice connect them; but Not upon ye square. But certeinly there is No Earthly Means for Regulating ye mind, & actions like this. No Study of Excellencys shews half that treasure as discovery of faults; for those Collated with what should be, setts it off (38). Nay it is, like health, scarce Esteemed, without being tested with ye opposite defect. And there is scarce a Mediocrity between well & Ill, In Carriage, & many other Morall cases, ffor it is counted ye greatest wisdome to avoid just blame; And positive Merit is a stranger to humanity, as well with Regard to ye things of this world, as of ye Next. Therefore This assistance from ye free Raillery of freinds, be it Joyned with authority, or Some measure of petulancy or ill Nature (wch to say truth is ye truth for ye most part) is the most Effectuall means of prserving as well as making good habits of convers. It is a Mirror of
137r. our vices, wherein ye very Image / Exposed Makes us hate them, and So by degrees to lay ye beast aside, wch otherwise, sticking to or Nature, is very apt to overgrow upon us. Some have thought ye Comp.a of fools, and fopps, usefull, becaus there is such a spacious landscape of folly in their proceedings, it becomes visible and odious; and there can Remain No Doubdt of what is to be avoided; but this must be tenderly used, ffor ffolly is Infectious. and If there be not strength of mind to Resist, it is apt to sweep all away like a torrent. So gay yong sparks are Caught, like boys with game & play, such as their active spirits, & litle thinking are pleas'd with. And Even ye Most stanch suffer in bad company, If too Much used, ffor actions are for ye Most part prone to Imitation, & done Involuntarily, or without direct intention. I knew an Exelent painter, that hated ye sight of an Ill picture and used to Say, If his hous were furnisht with such, it would spoil him (39). ffor the Incorrect & Injudicious shapes would steal throw his Eys to his hand, In spight of his teeth. but a fop, sometimes prickt into better company,

or Sometimes a whole Scene of ffopps, may not be amiss, becaus it is Not of Continuance to Infect Insensibly bad habits, and yeilds matter for speculation of folly, & that sinking in y^e^ Judgm^t^ breeds a ffirme Constitution of prudence, w^ch^ is Never to be shaken.

Now It is plainè In this free society of acquaintance & freinds in a State of Equality, The passive breeding would be an Insupportable formality & dullness. And In like manner that before assigned in cases of Strangers with us, would among such freinds, be over officious & domineering, as If y^e^ comp.^a^ were Ignorant, & you had a Monopoly of understanding, & were set over to teach them, who thinck themselves (as Most doe) Superior. Therefore it is y^e^ Nature of y^e^ Company w^ch^ chalks out the Methods of Comportm^t^ in it. And whoever hath Not sence to distinguish his Company, but doth & says y^e^ same things, & In y^e^ same manner, In all companys, is like y^e^ Kitchen Jack, y^t^ clatters continually Alike, whither beef Mutton or veal, Either or neither, be upon y^e^ Spitt, & understands as Much. /

137v. If the Comp.^a^ be Enimys, or fals & treacherous, the Comportm^t^ ought to be just as with wolves or bears. that is to gett clear as soon as you can, without Coming in their Reach, or giving them Means, or opportunity to hurt or scratch you. Here all good Manners turnes into policy, trick & shift. I mean Not, as y^e^ Mode is, to work with them, Expecting profit, as Mechanicks use their tools. ffor I have Ever Esteem'd it one of the Greatest Errors of Mankind High & low, thinking to profitt by the service of Knaves. wee see Kings layd low, and people Enslaved by that very Mistake, & yet it Continues, & will Continue, so long as Mankind it self (w^ch^ I prove by y^e^ actions of Every Majority) is a knave. But this is a subject of another designe; at p^r^sent y^e^ policy w^ch^ I mean, is, Not to Joyne, but to Escape them. and as ffor Respect, w^ch^ Custome, y^e^ law of Good Manners Requires in such a Case, I onely wish that It Exacted No More then was due, and then the Carriage were Easy; for I am sure Neither Respect civility, Nor (I was about to say) truth, is their due, or reasonable to be payd them. All that is but Encouragem^t^, & makes them proud in success, when they meet Not their deserts. According to right reason, wee should affront & despise 'Em in Every occurrence, and If lawfull, wors, so as that Most abused Maxime might truely (and Not hypocritically as In these times) be used and p^r^vaile. Honesty is best policy. But In Regard private persons, such as I am, & all I peculiarly wish well too (Now) (40) are, have not y^e^ Charg of publik Reformation or Conservation upon them, and are Reduc't to that petit cure of governing themselves, And find Enough of that, since y^e^ Majority

I spoke of, is conspired to make Even thatt difficult; wee are Not bound to make warr upon these Monsters, but May stand by & lett 'Em pass & farewell. And be Ever Carefull to avoid ye Comp.a of Enimys, & falling into it, thinck of No other Expedient or stratagem, but that wch (without hurt to yrself) devides you from them./

138r. I cannever forgett ye temper, & behaviour of yt good Archbp (41), with Respect to freinds & Enimys. he was Never at Eas, In ye prsence of ye latter, Nor, wtever his Case was, uneasy with ye others. At his table, If he Esteemed all ye Comp.a to be his freinds & honest (for he would never thinck other Could be his friend) No person Could be more chirping & pleasant then he was. he would sparkle and display witt, not such as is so called, railing & backbiting, but Ingenious allusions, & applications of ye latin poets (of wch he was a Master) & ancient adages, rather above, then like a youthfull fancy; wch was the better part of his Enterteinemt, tho all ye Rest was plentifull & Excellent. But If his sagatious Eye found out one fals person, as Many Such came to spy, & observe him, & often upon prtence of honr & service to him, but Never Concealed from him, he would be as mute & Grave as ye Meat he distributed. when he discourst or transacted with those he hond with ye style of freinds, If it were as happened sometimes, upon subjects very disagreeable to his Mind, yet he would Entertein & dissolve it with Greatt affability, Respect & Candor. unfolding his Sentiments and deducing his reasons so familiarly & plaine yet with Such an accuracy & force of words, as made all both Justifie & admire him. But If any one came, that he thought subterfugacious & fals; and that his plainess might be traduc't & suffer; he would shew No play, as wrestlers speak, and just Not be rude. Scarce ask them to sit, but standing keep his Archiepiscopall Gravity; and if he found it Necessary to speak It should make a breach upon some prliminary, & prvent ye buissness; as a wise man will rather fight his Enimy in ye porch, then In ye Midst of his owne hous; And he seldome failed to Conjecture ye designe of Every one (Not being wholly a stranger) yt Came to him. And in this he would be so harsh & snappish, as would have Repelled the Most hardened Imposture, and so he usually broke with such. And I doe not Remember that he Ever would argue or Enter into debate, with any

138v. but freinds. And Nothing / Is to be gained by treaty with Enimys (unless in Case of open warr, & Not in ye Garb of freinds) and all knaves or fals natured persons, are such to all yt are honest & true. Arguing & discours, where sincerity is wanting, doth but administer handles for Caption, & shew play in ye wrestlers Sence, So as to give advantage, without advancing ye point an hair. I could Not decline

this (I was about to say) devine Example, wch I had ye honr Neerly to know & observe, being So pertinent to ye prsent porpos.

But It May so fall out that ffor keeping ye peace, & common decency, it will be Necessary to bear with fals & advers persons, wch case happens most in Courts, or Court-like Occasions, that is visits & revisits, where ceremony hath More share then any sort of Integrity. the case is more tollerable here (42) becaus it is transient & Not lasting, then there, where it is a Combined affair Not to be well devided by any that Regards ye service of the soveraigne, as all prtend there. And in that Case it is Necessary for Mortall Enimys, fire & water, to transact & convers. And Every one whome fortune hath plac't there, must Resume a sort of dissimulation & policy, and lett it overrule all Inclination & temper, Even to Court & Caress as well as detest & hate at ye same time, Nay doe Everything possibly Consistent with a true Inward honest Meaning, of doing all things for ye best. This court policy is a trade hard to be learnt, ffor passions will be Rebellious, & rise so as to discover Enmity's, in ye Most subtile; ffor when all are foxes, they know Each others wiles, by their owne, and at best it is halting afore cripples (43). however a trade as it is, [it] Must be acquired by study & practice, as other professions & Misterys are. And a dunce in it will Never thrive at Court. And I know well that this trade of Hypocrisy is Called good breeding, but I doe not allowe it a place in that, but as meer policy abstract from breeding, wch is a considerable branch of Morality & vertue; & that is Not to be Sullyed with Such a fulsom title as policy, becaus it is often understood, & here particularly in a Contrary sence. /

139r. It is well if such as live under a Necessity of this practice consider it right, & convert ye Evil of hypocrisy (wch Some generous tempers Cannot Endure) to good porpose, wch may be done by those that (by wtever means) are arrived at power. And it may have so larg & terrifick Influence, as to attone for ye facinorosity of ye Means & practise. but to Conclude this Matter, Apply to and Court freinds, and give Enimys No advantage; If It may be decline their Comp.a, otherwise be not rude, and pass with all Indifference in discours & action, and be sure, when it is possible, with decency, to withdraw.

If the Company be Relations & Kindred, they are Either superior as parents, Equall as bretheren, or Inferior as descendants. All wch cases Require a distinct sort of breeding to pass with, & that wch ffitts ye one will Not square with ye other.

If Superior there ought to be a perfect deference & submission, such as would be abject with Equalls. And altho it is Not Necessary

to give positive assent ag^{t} ones Judgm^{t}, w^{ch} is flattery or (in latin) assentation (44), It is Necessary to be silent rather then positively to Contradict, tho it be ones Judgm^{t}. This when y^{e} Matter is Come to an Issue or determination, but In y^{e} Interim it is lawfull to argue so farr as is Encouraged, but then by way of Respect, as proposing objections, and perpetuall Shew of Submission. This with Equalls would be formall, & stiff, There wee advance, contradict, object, Reply, Refute etc. all w^{ch} makes y^{e} spirit & life of such Comp.^{a}, w^{ch} without it were dead. wee are not awed by any authority from them but seek occasion to batter & disparage, & Meet with y^{e} like againe, & often (when y^{e} Amity is Most Intire) with such acrimony, as shall Irritate y^{e} spirits to Retalliate. for there is in this Case No danger to y^{e} Amity; and this Reciprocall heat & Rallery is a piquancy in the Conversation, w^{ch} hath y^{e} Effect of acids in Saus, and Makes it More pleasant & profitable, & less Insipid & dull. /

139v. But to Returne to superiors, their reasons, tho weak must Not be Slighted, Nor any way depreciate their Authority (45). It shall Nevertheless happen sometimes that the good nature & condescention of a parent, shall lett in much of y^{e} fraternall freedome & familiarity. And then that is to be Complyd with so far as y^{e} Condescention demands. and it is as Much want of breeding to keep the ordinary & comon distance from parents when they are pleased to Invite their descendants to a neerer Convers by Coming half way, as it is to be too familiar when it is Neither Invited Nor welcome. And No Error is wors then disputing Condescentions with superiors; and If they will call for contradiction lett them have it, and so ffor moving, sitting, & y^{e} like. This Carriage is a signe of So Much worth, as should Not be dissappointed or greeved with stiff perseverances, & opiniatrety, but be Mett with Modest Complyance; still observe to take y^{e} yeilding, & not y^{e} persisting part. on y^{e} other side, some are Extream in y^{e} Contrary humour, and so testy, & touchy, as Not to Endure ordinary discours If not assenting, much less contradiction. And as to these, way Must be given as to persons in hast or angry, least you meet with a push.

If the Relation be much superior In age, place, or Experience, it is a Capitall vertue in such as well as good breeding Not to abash y^{e} tender disposition of y^{e} Inferior, such as youth for y^{e} Most part is, raw & Imperfect. It is Enough for them to be pert & Inquisitive, just Notions of things are Not Expected from them. Such in y^{e} Multitude of the Informations & occurrences of life Cannot fail of meeting with a world of truths, If they have parts to know, & wills to Embrace them, w^{ch} will at length give that maturity to

their understandings, as their betters have found & used before them. An Incurious youth is like a starved plant y^{t} hath Not strength to draw nourishm^{t}. It is a luxuriant genius that flys & aims at all, and is Restlessly Inquisitive, And so thro a world of error & Misapprehensions, as thro briars & thornes, bustles into y^{e} plaines,
140r. and there look about 'Em [sic]. / Such as these ill used by authority, May be so checkt & undone, as some are apt to Repell their rising minds with asperitys of Reproof, & severe Reflections, such as fool, child, & y^{e} like, Not considering y^{t} understanding will not Enter all at once, but by degrees, if att all. This proceeding dejects their fancys, makes them give over pursuit, and Introduceth a kind of despair, w^{ch} Mortifies all Endeavour in them. And it is so Much y^{e} wors as it is perpetuall, w^{ch} some austere parents are guilty of. thinking to Correct and amend, but Instead of that break and oppress any genuine good natured spirit. and In such cases, where it is Extream, as I have seen, were it not ffor the mighty grouth of spirits in youth, the very greif this Must Imppress, is Enough to turne a cheerfull temper into Melencolly & Maddness; w^{ch} is really made in growne persons by greifs less reasonable. The Masters of y^{e} Great hors, have a rule, never to Exercise y^{e} hors too Much at one time, but a litle, & set up, & then a litle againe (46). the reason they give is that however with whipp & spurr he will performe, it Shall not be with Courage, so as to become his Exercise by looking brisk, but dully with a sinking discontented Countenance. It is y^{e} same thing with youth. Therefore in Conversation with them, some Eas & Indulgence must be allowed, for their raw Ignorance; and frequent Remissions of Exercise, Especially when underneath there appears an Ingenuous attentive mind, w^{ch} should be rather Encouraged by comendation without Caus, rather then chekt by Reproof or vilifying (w^{ch} they least Endure) tho there be caus. & of all things, bad speeches & examples are to be avoided in their observation, ffor they see and carry away more then is Imagined, and have No rule of good to themselves, but following what they see their superiors doe with such Joy & pleasure, as seems to wait on vice. it is a latin saying often cited, that the greatest Reverence & Respect is due to children (47). So as whatever is Indecent to be done In publick, or before Great persons, is Much more unfitt before children ffor y^{e} Mischeif of y^{e} Example. /
140v. This I mention as y^{e} best temper to be used In the Convers of superior Relations with their Inferiors, but there may be such pervers dispositions, w^{ch} justly Require a different Method; those particular cases are so many & so different, it is Not reasonable to medle with them; the generall or Most ordinary way of treating

youth I thinck Is y^e^ mild & Condescensive, and Errors that way are least pernicious, tho Many are of another opinion.

I must owne I have not observed goodness more shining & Illustrious on one Side, & profitable on the other, then in y^e^ Condescention of persons of value & authority, conversing with youth, and low Capacitys. ffor by using their Manner of speech, and Representing things according to their ordinary way of thincking, they take advantage & Instill principles & Experiences, w^ch^ shall sink in their minds & Never wear out. And by complying in lawfull Enterteinem^ts^ such as they follow, & keeping them Comp.^a^ they become acceptable & familiar, & so Edifie a freindship w^ch^ is better then authority; for of all things youth hates Gouvernem^t^ Name & thing. and If they hate y^e^ office, the person, and all his p^r^cepts have y^e^ same p^r^judice. The great Instance of this carriage, was Socrates, who sought out yong men, & Ignorant citisens to keep Comp.^a^ with, ffor their sakes, & dealt with them in this manner, but with such an inimitable Easyness & skill, that Nothing of y^e^ kind (without y^e^ pale) Ever was, or will be like it (48).

But among gentlemen of Equall p^r^tensions, as soldiers Nobility & Men of fortune, among whome breeding is Most profest, such a pincushion (49) Carriage were rediculous and would be nauseous, & y^e^ person Esteemed no better then a parasiticall fop, Rather then an honest ladd (as their language is) with y^e^ Harry's dicks & Toms. all ffellows, & Equall; that they desire & approve.

It is Much More faulty, when superiors in order, or understanding, conforme to youth & weakness, in their vices, and as it is unmannerly in y^e^ latter to censure y^e^ others, so it is brutish in
141r. them not to Reprove their / Inferiors, In fitting manner, when occasion is given, Much less to Encourage them In vice. And that Either silence, knowne Connivance, or Express palliating doth. The forbearing this is farr from an article of good breeding and is rather a signe of a degenerate sott, then a person that hath a just Authority, & understands his duty.

It is also plaine that Complaisance of superior Relations to their Inferiours, with that forme and Ceremony as wee suppose becomes y^e^ Contrary part, is too abject to pass for breeding, yet it will fall out so sometimes, as in y^e^ Case of an unkle; & all he gott was to be derided almost to his face.

All Extreams are bad, but that In y^e^ way of formality is wors then want of Respect.

If the Relation be fraternall, It is foolish (after thro acquaintance w^ch^ doth not allwais happen) (50) to Retein y^e^ formes of Courtiers & promiscuous company. The freedome proper to be used is Not

onely great but usefull in Conversation. And that consists in downe right truths, among y^e^ graver, & laughing at Each other, among y^e^ yonger Sort. and with both a liberty of shewing faults, without Reserve In debate; Neither is bound to yeild ffor Respect, but reason onely, And y^e^ dispute may be protracted as farr as words will carry it. Earnestness is so farr from a fault that it is a token of sincerity, and freindship. Adhering to opinion is a declaration ag^t^ flattery, w^ch^ here is wors, & is rather Banter, & thats an affront. None here should Regard victory or any thing but truth, and never subbmitt upon any other Inducem^t^. and onely y^e^ danger of Rupture, or too Much heat, ready to break out into quarrel, will make one side desist. This is whetting the facultys, and the reall Emolument of such Naturall freindships. and for matter of offence here, I have this to say, that If truth & plain dealing offends, It is a fool y^t^ Receivs it, and it is an unkind part to forbear, for that reason; and then there is litle good breeding on Either side.

I Must Confess this sort of Conversation is Not to be called
141v. good breeding, In an undersecretary, or spye, / A polititian, Intelligencer, or Gamester, whose trade is fallacy, & Imposture, such Must pincushion't, & sneer Everyone into a conceipt of his owne sence. but this among neer & Equall Relations & freinds is odious, & fulsome. and the most unwonted (51) clowne, conversing frankly according to his mind sincerely, is More a freind, and better bredd, then this formall sneering Relation.

I have here walkt beyond my line, and bin dabling in Economicks, freindships & Education, w^ch^ were shutt out at first, with other Instances of Morality, not within y^e^ caracter of well bredd. but trenching so near, I could Not avoid touching. Upon the whole Matter, wee cannot find in Nature any stated Caracter of good breeding, but it is to be formed according to Custome, & y^e^ Condition of persons; As In phisick Aloes is good, but None will say it is so in all cases. and w^t^ever opinion a Doctor May have of any drugg, he cannot Say it it y^e^ best or good but with Regard to particular cases, & distempers. So it is with breeding. wee may have a p^r^judice for this or that Method, as Mine is for y^e^ passive, but still custome, & y^e^ age, Must give y^e^ authority. And the more Retired wee are, the less slaves are wee to this Inexorable authority of Custome. one y^t^ abroad shall be rude, & morose, Retired, shall be Indemnified for his affecting his Eas.

I have toucht some matters w^ch^ Relate to this Subject In y^e^ papers about pride, w^ch^ as I Remember are of Gestures, & habits, therefore less Remaines here. I Shall take notice of y^e^ failings, and sworne Enimys of good breeding, and beating up y^e^ head quarters,

the greatest of y^{e} Storme will fall upon affectation. that dispatcht and a litle about habits (52), will put an End to this pen & y^{r} trouble.

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90r. Essay [on contentment in retirement]

There is in appearance a vast advantage to fals, cunning Ill natured Impudent persons, they shake off all the Incumbrances that pitty or rather Easyness, modesty, freindships & vertue bring upon humane life, whither considered in ye Minds, or fortunes of men. they have No paine to ask, urg, grasp, deny, or quarrell, wch keeps back vertuous persons from both Gaine & saving in this world. Such undertake trusts, as ye other[s] doe, but with different aim & practice; that is to serve & make No gaine and then are sure of trouble & anxiety, and in much danger of right downe losses. ye others seek buisness, wch they lett goe into Confusion & hold all till mens Industry (wch few afford) will work towards a clearing, and after all, Shall not Ever be wholy unraveled, but the Sediment in their profit Shall be great; wch they hold by teasing, contention, Impudence and all their peculiar qualifications, and Nevery [sic] without Reserve & Snare, agt wch the wise & Experienc't are scarce compos. the vertuous can scarce deny their familys any thing they are urgent for; but these men will Not allow Necessarys; those
90v. aim / to Make their owne serve these thinck of Nothing less then to live upon their owne, and depend on Rolling time & accidents for Recruits of their vicious profusion, like anglers, semper pendet hamus (53). And in trying times of chang, ye vertuous at best are bay'd aside, perhaps persecuted, these make hay, & harvest as in Sunshine, having found chapmen that will give a price for their perfidy, and Cruelty. And In short ye wors the times, ye better fare knaves & ill men, & it is rare but ye times are bad Enough for their porpose, so that wee see them usually more Easy at home and abroad, and much more Courted and prferred. Is this Just in ye Economy of the world? yes. but How? I ansr, Much proceeds from ye falts, tho Not ye vices of reasonable men. ffor supposing they have fortunes competent, wch is the ordinary circumstance of those I have My Eye upon, & wee Most convers with, they need Not Envy ye fruits of vice & ill Nature. the attendant pangs of wch I will Not Now touch upon. but turne to ye Good, who, tho free from vice, yet by weakness depress themselves, wch Seems to give a Rise to
91r. ye others. / I mean by coveting some what beyond their fortune to Compass Easily, they Create a want; wch otherwise had Not visited them. and why that? a sort of vanity in desiring to seem prosperous. If Men are prosperous, it is No vanity to shew it, ffor Nothing is More Reasonable then for Men to appear in Garb agreeing with their fortunes, keeping a just & Modest decorum in it. but desiring to

appear what they wish to be, but are Not, betray[s] men into very Great straits; and then they begin to Ey the posture of others, and are apt to Envy what they thinck they deserve & want, but others demerit & have.

If men have Not this vanity in themselves, It is all one, if it be in their familys, and they Cannot Resist it; If they will be so Easy to Gratifie them so Much that It shall produce a straitness of fortune, then y^e^ Consequent temptation, to Envy bad men in a post of plenty. I conclude therefore that Good Men generally Neither have reason Nor doe Envy bad men in Greater plenty, but onely as their owne Easyness in yeilding to Superfluous Expences prompts /
91v. them to it. Now to Suggest a cure for this Evil 2. things are considerable 1. vanity in o^r^selves, and 2. vanity in o^r^ familys; and a difficulty to keep it under. The former is most potent, and ffew are wholly Infranchis't from it, Some More, some less, optimus ille qui minime urgetur (54). A plenty is a great Good, becaus it Carrys y^e^ power of doing good, and all the honest use of it, is actually such; this Must be granted by whom will consider, that Imploym^t^ & maintenance of y^e^ poor, w^ch^ is derived from y^e^ plenty of y^e^ Rich, is y^e^ Greatest temporall good Any man can doe in this world. Therefore it is very lawfull, Nay vertuous to desire plenty. And whatever is Comendable to desire, and happy as well as vertuous to use, will draw honest Natures towards it, and first make them act as if, & then desire they had it. And In this fame, w^ch^ is the temporall Reward of y^e^ just, hath No Small Share in Seducing them. ffor they would be thought to have, & laudably to use a plenty, tho they have it Not. Now this is y^e^ fantasme w^ch^ is to be puft
92r. away, and so wee may promis an honest / man his Eas. fame is good, and Infamy Evil; but Just Enough to determine a man to choos y^e^ former, but in Some Cases he is bound to choos y^e^ latter (55). But fame is not of weight to ballance a sensible Evil. fame gives Example to others, If good for good, Els y^e^ Contrary. So it is Morally good, when it is of vertue; but If it be onely of plenty it is ostentation, & a tempter to pride & Envy in others, & so a Morall Evil. So y^t^ A fame from plenty, without y^e^ adjunct of a vertuous & laudable use of it, is to be shunned. And the distress of a family is a Substantiall Evil, being fertile of hard thoughts, words, and unfitt Grutching within y^e^ doors of y^e^ house where it dwells. Nothing is a greater temporall Evil then this. And for that reason, a fals fame, however tending to good, is not to be Set ag^t^ it. A Man Must not bring a reall want upon his family, to purchas a fals fame of using plenty well, the price is to high; all his peace & Eas of his life is undermined by y^e^ bargaine.

Therefore I pʳscribe a perfect Contempt of fame, when opposed
92v. to yᵉ Substance of providing for a family. And to Argue this / a litle 1. it is No duty to purchas fame, but to doe good; if fame be yᵉ Consequence it is well, if not, oʳ duty is yᵉ Same. If a man by his duty should become Infamous, as yᵉ primitive christians, who were reproach[t] for yᵉ cross, they were not deterred, but raised themselves upon yᵗ to Glory. but 2. it is A duty to keep a Good Correspondence & Amity in a family, and to furnish Necessary[s] to it, without wᶜʰ it will Not Subsist, and this without Injustice fraud or stealing from (as is borrowing and Not paying to) others abroad. wᶜʰ in Most honest Mens Cases cannot be done without thrift & providence. what If men say, do see these folks yᵗ were so fine, what they are Now Come too; others, strange how penuriously they live, have Not they So Much a year? And then our cloaths, liverys, coaches, laces (& what Not) are infinitely better then theirs; our hous is finer, better furnisht, Cleaner, wee keep a better table then they. wee doe Not drudg, our coachhorses don't plow, wee feast, dance & Jolly it abroad, & Not live like farmers
93r. as they doe. with much / More Such Stuff, Necessaryly to be observed in yᵉ ways of vulgar gentry, & is Nauseous to Rehears. But what weighs all this. first wee feel it Not, as wee doe our wants. wee have power of yᵉ latter but Not of the tongues of fools & Impertinent Medlers. I say power, ffor I can Easily suppose thatt all I now comprise in My designe have Enough, If they will manage & use it rightly. Therefore I Say it is a most Impotent Mistake, to be Moved from wise Conduct by yᵉ talk of fools & buisy bodys. It is better Such take abroad (56), then oʳ freinds & dearest relations If not openly Complain, yet Inwardly Repine at home. That is felt with a wittness, and as sharply as the other abroad is a most Contemptible vanity, & Not att all felt or troublesome to us. If men are so foolish to touch us In conversation, If wee find ourselves slighted, or [if there is] any other deminution of oʳ Esteem in Comp.ª, from such occasion avoid 'Em, keep at home, If wiser freinds are Not to be corresponded with abroad. doe yʳ own buissness & medle Not with them that are given to chang, as yᵉ wise man Say'd (57) &
93v. I add, to value persons by outside onely. / By this wee Gaine oʳ Quiet & Repose wᶜʰ is onely at home, however homely. It avoids yᵉ fastidious visits & and Revisits treats & Retreatings of captious folks wᶜʰ the custome of yᵉ world obligeth us too, however avers our temper is, from Such fals tokens of freindship. I Say it Gives Into our hands that happyness wee would snatch at, if yᵉ custome I mentioned did not prohibite. why then doe wee Refuse oʳ good? when men force us upon it by uncandid acceptation of oʳ proceed-

ings? And wch is Most considerable, wee by a forc't or chosen Retiredment, gaine a salvage of our fortune, wch by popularity in all ye degrees of it is prey'd upon, as humane flesh is by ye Cancer, and as ye popularity is Greater, So is ye Cancer More virulent, & at length Mortall.

But then up riseth humanity, frail humanity, & complaines of its Countenance (58), but how can wee, that have lived So well & Entertained our Neighbours better then they us, now Retire & when occasion is, want wt Every body shews & gives, & what wee Receiv from them. This Is ansd already, ffor what is ye Result but speech /
94r. & what is speech but air? but Grant all ye censure yt can be Imagined what is there worth Regarding. ffoolish Reflections, such as I before toucht, I suppose none will prtend to Regard. then the truth of ye Matter is, these people were mistaken in their living, or they find their Income with drawne, or losses have happned, or charges are Increast, and they Now Retrench. Malice can carry this censure No farther in truth, then to speak Justly, or let us Imagin an angel to harrangue, wt more glorious subject could [there] be to comand largely, then Growing wise, and prudent, for wch its Never too late. And let Me Say once for all, If I know any thing in this world from observation of men, it is this. that prais & honnour follows wisdome, and shame & Contempt folly. be ye cours what it will, and however it [is] Resented, If it be wise, it shall at last Emerg in honr. & value, & ye Contrary of foolish ways, be they applauded to ye heights of humane fame, they shall at length sink
94v. in Shame. what is wisdome? it is a just Calculate of / our Means to living, and living to the best advantage with it, holding a moderation so as Not to want the Good things they will furnish, & Not to Exhaust them (59), so as wee shall after be forc't to want what is Necessary, & to Make any Shift rather [than] be in debt to any. what is folly? It is a heedless way of proceeding in life, Either Not making any accounts or Estimates or fals ones, but goes on deluded with empty conceipts of prais and fame, or joy of being Envyed for things that are onely in shew and Not reality, & So goe wasting ye stock, till want Comes, and brings confusion & misery upon ye family (60). Then I say to this frail Countenance that cannot hold up in ways of prudence, but shrinks & pines, be Not deluded, yet have reason to be Sterne & Erect in those, ffor wisdome and all ye Consequences are yr freind, & will justifie you; but rather fall, sink & sneak In the other track, wch will lead you to Confusion, and Ineluctable desolation. rather be proud to a vice
95r. (that is beyond Reason) in a good way then / in a bad way, one will mend ye other Grow wors, & at length Ruin (61).

A second consideration was Easyness, to a family; ...

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68v. of y^e^ Generall Conduct of weomen.

That weomen have bin, & often, learned wise & good accountants as well as Economists, is past doubdt. at least with me, who am Maternally discended of Such a one. but I guess they are more frequent in some forrein parts, particularly Holland, then in England, Not from Capacity, but Necessity, Education or opportunity, w^ch^ being less in England, is y^e^ Caus of y^t^ rarity here.

I would Examine these two matters; first the Capacity & 2. y^e^ Education of weomen in England, & particularly about london.

1. As to Capacity, however, wee must Grant that they have somewhat more tender (62) or ffond then men, and are also More lyable to passion; Such as ffear, love, hatred & Emulation then men are. As wee see in other species (barr Comparisons) of Brutes, y^e^ female hath more of passive tenderness then y^e^ Male w^ch^ is boisterous & quarrelsome, and for that reason they are taken Into Some uses, for w^ch^ y^e^ Males unless Effeminated by Castration, are unffitt. And If any will have it Granted that this tenderness of constitution Extends it self to y^e^ mind and judgm^t^, I must yeild their Capacity Inferiour to Men. But this is Not Concluded by me. ffor passion asleep is No Excise upon y^e^ Judgm^t^, therefore Not to be accounted in diminution of any person's Rationall faculty. /

69r. Divers Men are passionate to frenzy, and as Impotent of Reason as a madd dogg; This is onely while it is Exasperated & Raging; and being once layd asleep againe, that person hath as Compleat power of Reason as y^e^ best; and doth No less censure his owne passion, then he would y^e^ Same in another; But it is to be observed that such persons have Not onely an Intire, but an acute Judgm^t^, & are often Extraordinarily learned & witty, as I might prove by Eminent Instances, If Naming were Not Invidious. this proves y^t^ passion may for a time oppress Reason as noises & tumult disorder Contemplation or thinking; but it is Not so Connected as to taint it Radically, but when removed, reason Emergeth in full strength againe. So Much ffor passion.

As to bodyly strength wee May allow that weomen generally have Not so much, Nor are So persevering as Men; yet Not So Much Inferior as seems, ffor in places where weomen doe y^e^ labour of building & husbandry, It is ffound that they performe litle less then Men; perhaps If they were to be wrought downe, y^e^ weomen would drop first. This In a tryall of active strength; but ffor passive bearing of hunger, watching & pain, they Exceed y^e^ Men. as wee see by choure-weomen & Nurses, who sometimes Endure continuance of

fatigue in their way Extraordinarily. And for this reason I am of
69v. opinion that their want / of bodyly strength is Not such as to be carryed on to affect ye rationall faculty, but that may be as strong & perfect as in men. And If there be any failing it is Not to be ascribed in any particular Instance of comparison, as that this woman rather hath Not the witt of that Man ffor Either may out strip ye other. But If 90 or 100 of Each sex are taken, there partly as breeding is or should be, may be fewer prime witts of wemen then among ye men. And I Make No doubdt but yet a ffew Graines in Education might also turne ye Scales on their Side. And If men were bred as weomen are, & they as men, ye latter would probably be deemed ye weaker vessell. And where ye others, as ye way of ye world allows take to buisness & thincking, there is no reason to ascribe any defect from Constitution becaus they often performe as strenuously as might be Expected from men in Such circumstances.

But what are Men in an Effeminate age? that is, an age, when ye breeding is like that of weomen, nice, tender & fearfull? wee doe Not see that the strength of their Nature bears their reason thro this mist, but they are as Insignificant not onely as weomen, but as children, and by ye style of Manhood onely Enabled to doe a litle more Mischeif. but the ladys in all Efforts of witt & conduct under that cours of Education, in ye End, under litle or no disadvantage whither wee are in this Indulgent to them, or not, I will Not determine; but I thinck In Equall breeding ye appearance runs rather on their side (63). /

70r. In fine wee must Resort to ye manner of Education, & convers, ffor a re-solution of the weaker Conduct of weomen, In Buissness. As to oeconomy they are really better then ye Men, when they are Either bredd in it, or have by Inclination or want fallen to Intend it. How doe farmers & trades [sic] depend on their wifes, the wumans Economy at home is Not less considerable to their thriving then the mans Industry abroad? This is a full Instance to prove their Capacity. But as to the better quality, they are Such whom their parents desire Should appear fine, & delicate, In order to their advantage in Matching. ffor it is ye person of a woman, Joyned with her fortune that prferrs her; and ye former sometimes alone, or with small Share of ye other. The Consequence of this is, they must practise & learne Exercises of delicacy more then of buissness. such as working with ye Needle In order to be well drest & set out; Musick & dancing, ffor ye Same End, to appear taking. & as for wrighting & spelling, a litle serves turne, but books, learning & buisness are loss of time, as Not thought subservient to ye main End,

70v. Marriage. ffor that with weomen, is like preferm^{t} with / parsons: when that is Got, y^{e} Care is taken (64), & y^{e} End of all their Study & Exercise acquired. If a woman Could foresee her setlem^{t} by marriage She Might without doubdt be bredd So as to be an accomplisht wife in y^{e} State; be it Either citty, Country, with or without buisness. but y^{e} breeding is to get Married, & then consider of Consequences. But certeinly those who Either by parents Care and Encouragem^{t}, or their owne Ingenuity, take to knowledg and pratiq In order to buisness, are Much Recomended, and meet with unexpected advantages In marriage; for tho generally y^{e} Marriage hunting gentlemen seek to pleas their fancy's onely, yet Some have more depth, or parents at least who May put 'em upon such choice, as Is Incomparably y^{e} best, when drawne by a caracter of knowledg & prattiq. And If I were to advise a yong lady of Small fortune, how She Should Imploy her time In order to her p^{r}ferm^{t}, It should by [sic], by studdy of arts, history & accounts. And where She May, to actually Imploy her self, in what is the proper buisness of a wise & good lady.

Then, as to Conversation, this way of breeding taints it with Envy, & Emulation. ffor when all weomen are taught to Invite address as to themselves, they must needs thinck of Excelling
71r. their / Competitors. that is in being More fine In cloaths, fairer in face, wittyer in discours. And Consequently y^{e} very minds of them are poysoned with these partiallitys to themselves, Into vice & Malice, ffor they hate to be outdone, & pine Not to Come up with their acquaintance. One May, taking a view of this towne, where feminine Conduct is Most Conspicuous, observe that y^{e} whole Imploy of y^{e} Sex, is a kind of trade in Emulation. they see Nothing w^{ch} another hath, but they have a mind to y^{e} Same, If Not a better of like kind. All y^{se} Setting out of Rooms, clossets &c, have this secret behind y^{e} Cabinets & corner shelves, I am here to outdoe some body. And one would thinck they Strove for a power, w^{ch} y^{e} Scoolmen will Not allow y^{e} diety, to Reconcile contradictions. ffor they hate to be singular, that is Not to doe or appear like others; or to speak plaine; Inferiors hate not to be like Superiors, ladys of y^{e} Comon Rank, like Dutchesses or Countesses. This is understood by y^{e} terme of art, fashion, and y^{e} oratrixes of y^{e} Exch^{a} allwais p^{r}amble their goods by y^{e} choice and approvall of some knowne Bell's of high quality. And yet, after all this, true as it is, they hate to have or doe like Every one, and that is as Nauseous as y^{e} other desirable, wherefore they Cannot abide w^{t} Every body hath. So to be in fashion, and out of fashion, at one & y^{e} Same
71v. time, is what they seek, and is an art / prettyly Expresst by a learned

Mercer, who at Every display used to parrott out, Madame pretty & odd, & Not Comon; and this I once againe Explaine to be onely a desire to be Equall with Superiors, & Superior to Equalls, but by No means to keep pace with Inferiors; Then how is it possible ffor persons who have Such Stuff as this to ffill their Braines, Should ffind room for [a] just Estimate of things & To judg rightly of themselves & their condition; wch points are very necessary to all prudent conduct? Now I doe Not alledg that Men are free from this of Emulation & pride (65), wch is so apt to blind ye understanding, but it is as Naturall to them as to weomen, & Grows up together with their persons, from Infancy towards manhood. And the difference springs from hence, men Emulate onely their Equalls in prtences, weomen have all one trade & Emulate [in everything?]. It is Nurst & cultivated in ye weomen, but battered & rebuk't in ye Men; and therefore, in growing up, it Increaseth in the former, while it wasts in ye others. The aim of ye ladys is to draw Regards from Each other to Themselves, by adornemt & Grace of their persons. but the men are to Recomend themselves to Imploymt in ye world, wch is to be done by appearing, Not a gay butterfly, but an Industrious Bee, & this In the opinion of ye Graver Sort, In whose Hands Imployments generally are to dispose (66). But
72r. when it Happens that men take to ye ladys policy, that is / winning by dint of person, & decline that wch More becomes them, they are most Consummate fopps, & Infinitely Inferior to ye vainest of weomen. wee Indulge in them, what should be whipt in ye others; Nor is it a foppery yt hath Substance Enough to bear ye Stage, If ye poets did Not Set it off by Extravagances beyond all Example, and joyne a redicolous understanding with it to set it off. ffor who is diverted with a dull figure drest, but speaks Not, unless it be, maam has yr laps seen ye last New play? And Instead of admiring ye caracter, ye audience shall hiss ye poet.

That this Education of ye ladys Makes Such an Impression upon their minds, as to become habituall in Emulation, will Not be thought a paradox. ffor pass thro all ye Severall clanns in this towne, Even those whome wee value & esteem, who have witt and discretion, and whom ye More foolish ape & Imitate, as wee may meet with them in with drawing rooms, upon visiting days, have all along this Infirmity of Emulating Each other in personall decoration. you shall hear discours about ye Matches, plays, tryalls, & what Not shining affaires of ye towne, but observe ye Eyes & they are all buisy in taking ye altitudes of pettycotes mantoes, Heads & laces. but goe with them to china houses & Shopps, and there all
72v. ye facultys of ye Soul are Exerted, and Intent upon / The Calculate

of more or less In prettyness, this is pretty, that more pretty, but another pretty beyond all. But it is hard to Meet with this Subject of prettyness in all ye authors of phisicks & Metaphisicks; or by what rule or Compass to take ye Gage & demension of it, but they do it Miraculously, as one would thinck; but ye truth at bottom is, this will appear better then what another lady had, Ergo it is prittyer, and So ye Comparison is Not of ye things themselves, but as they are Connect with persons; or at least, as they Imagin their owne persons may be Sett off, comparatively, by them.

Now I doe begin to hear a Murmure, as If this were a satir upon ye ladys, and that a world of them become great managers & devoid of this Empty Emulation, But are Even ye Stay of their familys, wch ye Men would lett ffall to ruin, did Not ye ladys prserve them, by their prudence & applycation. I Say first, I doe Not Satirise ye ladys, but their Education. I assigne them No place in Capacity Inferior to men. And If they are depraved by the politiq peculiar to their sex, & so habituated to Court Empty & vain Shaddows of good; they are to be pityed, rather then blamed. And If wee can
73r. Shew them / their mistake & wherein their true & substantial pleasure & Interest consists wee doe them No disservice. And farther, I know very well that this vanity of dress is Most Inflamed in youth, wch with weomen is not past before Marriage; and that afterwards It abates & grows more faint & weak, & with Many layd aside as Intirely as with ye philosofers themselves. Nay I have knowne severall ladys who have arrived at Such a justness of thought as to Contemne ye very fancy, of having Esteem by cloaths & dressing. and have done No More towards it then is Needfull, with Respect to cleanness (wherein they have bin More curious then ye dressers themselves) and to ye Comon censure of ye world who will not allow too Much singularity without a brand of moroseness. And that wch they have done, hath bin attended with Such Indifference on ye one side, & Raillery on ye other, as Hath Shewn the delicacy of their minds & condiscention to Custome.

If it were possible that an Education of ladys could be Instituted, Not with Retiredment from ye world as Nunnery pretend (67) (but In truth foster all ye vanitys of ye Sex, in other ways) but ffull of pratiq & buissness, as well as promiscuous Conversation /
73v. with Equalls, and also with Superiors & Inferiors occasionally, & so Much depended on their conduct, as well with Regard to their owne, as freinds Interests to whome they are accountable; or If they were addicted to study of History, Morality & philosofy, with ye languages apperteining to it, & all Joyned with a Conversation proper to it; In Such a way as Men of buisness & Scollars are; I may

venture to Say that the Male Sex, would have No great Caus to be proud of their Capacitys, as Much superior to them. But they would ffind themselves Matched, In another way, then weomen ordinarily Expect, that is In Judgem^{t} & learning, & dispatch of Buisness.

one thing I Shall add as to books; they, I mean ladys are Not taught to Esteem any, but what is triviall as to Improving y^{e} Mind, such as poetry & Romances. If Instead of those, they Read y^{e} classick book, tho In translated languages, It would give them a great advantage in knowledg. Then as to Religion, they are over-charged with y^{e} devotionary books of our clergy; w^{ch} Its true, are very well adapted to weak minds; but avert them from all that's
74r. knowledg Into a sort of superstition. and withall rais their / passions, under y^{e} Notion of devotion & comes very [little] short of making many distracted. All this were well If they Intermixed Reading of true knowledg, to give y^{e} Judgm^{t} a ballast, wer[e] Joyned with them (68). ffor all that's directed to Stir up passion in y^{e} Mind (w^{ch} in y^{e} way of devotion & Religion is Most Necessary & usefull, Such as Admiration, veneration, fervent desire, ardor In Resolving & y^{e} like) is opposed to some foible of humane Nature, w^{ch} being devious y^{e} (69) wrong, to become strait, Must be overbent y^{e} right way. But If that be Not y^{e} Case, as it is Not with all persons as y^{e} books suppose, wth Such, it tends to Maddness, unless, ballasted with a due understanding w^{ch} is to be had from books of ordinary Condition to w^{ch} I would Not have y^{e} weomen Strangers. But really is it wonderfull that the ladys Should be so Extreamly addicted to books of passionate & serafick devotion, as they are, & those so opposed to y^{e} vanitys universally possessing their Sex, as y^{e} authors can possibly Invent & contrive, & yet be so litle answered by amendm^{t}, If I may so Call it. The Inference w^{ch} Concludes this Essay, is that Education & Inclination, are too strong for all humane means, to Remove.

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

74v. of y^e^ English Militia (70)

Heads

1. The p^r^sent defects of y^e^ Militia
2. The means of supplying or Correcting them
    1. The ways comonly discourst of
    2. Their failings
    4. The applycation of y^e^ Cure
    5. Objections ans^d^.

1. The faults are,
    1. Men sent in by y^e^ owners of Estates and poor labourers (usually) y^t^ have familys & Goe for cheapness, & Not of good Courage, but most apt to thinck more of Returning to their familys then of going on upon danger.
    2. Want of Exercise, ffor men undisciplined stand Not ag^t^ disciplined tho much Inferior. and y^e^ Musters are Not Such Nor so frequent, to Mend the discipline.
    3. If men are disciplined, there is No hold of them, but New men may be sent in Each Muster.
2. The means of taking away these Inconveniences. ffor y^e^ militia wants Not Number's for any occasion, Nor Masters to pay them, Nor armes or amunition to fight with; so that if the Imbecility or faults of y^e^ constitution be Removed it is without doubdt Sufficient for y^e^ defence of y^e^ Nation. wherefore men propose.
    1. That the persons listed In one Muster shall be held to service, as Soldiers ordinarily listed till licenced away by y^e^ Captains. /

75r.

    2. None shall be listed but Such as the officer approves.
    3. That stated times, & sufficient be allow^d^ for Exercises.
    4. That parishes (as formerly about Bows & butts) (71) maintaine armes and amunition ffor youth to Exercise at leisure with.
3. These Improvem^ts^ are specious, but such is y^e^ temper of y^e^ English Nation, they will Not serve, as y^e^ Sequell May make appear; wherefore to apply ans^r^ to Each article.
    1. Holding men listed, is good for a Campain or p^r^sent service, but Not for a dormant Militia. ffor all things w^ch^ Make Men unfitt will in process of time, & sometimes soon happen to y^e^ Inrolled men. as Marriage, children, sickness, debauchery &c. so that one week a man may be fitt, & the Next otherwise.
    2. Approbation, without manifest caus, but upon y^e^ arbitrary liking of an officer, is a slavery to y^e^ Estates y^t^ send them, for If y^e^ officer have a pique, he dislikes y^e^ man. & y^e^ Estate can but say, he can procure No better, & perhaps, himself is

worst off all.

3. Times for Exercise. It is y^e^ humour of y^e^ English to be warme & zealous by fitts. & perhaps at first upon Such a
75v. Constitution / as this, while danger is Remote, Much would be done. but In a short time, like all other English Institutions, it would grow into desuetude, & perfunctory if Not Rediculous practise. but very likely much wors. an Assembly as Musters Now are more ffor spunging y^e^ Country and fudling among y^e^ Soldiers & officers, then any good Exercise. It is Not reasonable to expect any Continuance of Exercises profitable for warr, but In warr it self. And soldiers will Not be kept militaryly practised without a standing militia. & Even a formed army, wee So much fear & hate, would in peace, soon corrupt into wors then fresh men. lazynes debauchery and oppression, would be y^e^ weeds of Such a dunghill, & at length if service comes, the Men will be less fitt then Novices; I speak this as Not of so sudden chang, but In long Continuance of peace (72). And Much More would y^e^ militia flagg.

4. As to parishes finding armes & powder, I Grant, this honestly & cordially done, would much mend y^e^ youth. but this, as all things of publik Institution would corrupt & y^e^ Country would choos to Save their Mony rather then spend powder, & y^e^ armes would be broken, & be (at best) ill Mended patcht things, cheap at first, & good for Nothing at last. /

76r. 4. The Remedys, or Means to Make an Establisht Militia in England usefull.

1. Allow y^e^ officers to ffill their Companys If they thinck ffitt, and If they ffind Not men to their minds, then y^e^ Estates to find, as at p^r^sent. The use of this is that if any occasion Requires actuall service, for w^ch^ End onely a Militia is Setled, the officers May have men that offer themselves ffreely, and come with a spirit, not onely of courage or willingness to fight, but zealous in the Caus in w^ch^ they are called. ffor courage in generall and zeal to y^e^ caus, is much more Effectuall then any Exercise of armes. And So Cromwell found; ffor nothing but preaching zealots were a match ffor y^e^ high spirited cavaliers (73). And Such men as these Cannot be Expected, from y^e^ Country who will choos y^e^ cheapest labourers to send out, such as have more Regard to y^e^ pay then y^e^ Caus, & thinck More of their poor family at home, then Exposing their owne lives in y^e^ hassard, paine and sorrow to all. /

76v. And it is More then an Even Wager tha[t] Such as these will dispose one and other rather to Returne to their warme holes at home, then to persevere in service, and this in y^e^ Nicest times of using the[m], whereas If y^e^ officers choos, there will be men y^t^ are prompted by their zeal, courage or caprice, Even when it is foreknowne that fighting (& Not popgunning) is y^e^ buisness, to offer their service. And Moreover gentlemen that are officers, will fill their Companys with their owne Reteiners & dependants or Such as have a Confidence in them, & who would follow them heartily or willingly, but Not any other officer. It is found upon New levys that however laws & discipline will hold Men once raised together it yet must be Interest & popularity y^t^ raiseth them. And Such Men, when taken from their officers, & forc't to serve under others in whom they have less confidence, If they doe Not run away, or prove cowards, they are often so Malecontent that It were as well to be without them. thus If y^e^ officer appoints his men he will be more carefull & sollicitous that they prove Effectuall then if the country sends them in. otherwise he may palliate or skreen his owne cowardise under them and Say, I cannot make a silk purs of a Sows Ear; or oblidg unwilling
77r. Men, to March; / If I appointed them, & have power to discipline offenders, I could better answer for their performance. And it Is Not Inconsiderable that officers would be proud of their Men, and Emulate Each other in the Gallantry, courage, discipline & performances of the men. And It would Encourage not onely y^e^ Soldiers, but y^e^ officers also, & Make them Study warr to be able to signalize themselves in y^e^ Exercise & Conduct of their Companys.

Here riseth an objection; viz.^t^ want of Exercise, when occasion is, ffor you must Expect fresh men, & raw. Such as, y^e^ old soldiers say, cannot stand ag^t^ Regular & veterane bodys. and None knows how Suddaine y^e^ Call may be.

I have Many things to Say to this. 1. No occasion very Important, can be very sudden; I mean forrein Invasion, ffor that is y^e^ word w^ch^ crouds in in [sic] all these discourses (74). they know litle of y^e^ sea & shipping that doe Not know what a prodigious apparatus of shipp's, & Saylors Must be to Imbark an invading force. y^e^ p. o^s^ (75) coming was 12000, or Neer, and 600 vessells to bring them besides y^e^ Grand fleet of /
77v. Holland (76). and Secret as it was, It was knowne at least 6. weeks afore (77). In w^ch^ time an army Might be raised & disciplined; w^ch^ is proved by y^e^ like done by K. cha. 2. of

30000 men, raised hors & foot, & sent into flanders, in 3. weeks time, as good men as they could expect (78).

If a caus be popular, as an Invasion and from ye french (wch they say is feared, and is that agt wch all prtence of armes is directed) (79) it is Not to be doubdted but multitudes of 1000ds of men, yong & vigorous, gentle & simple, & Indeed who Not? would offer them selves to service out of wch ye officers Might choos for their owne as well as ye Nations Safety, & consequently would doe it to ye best of their Skill.

It may be Sayd in Such a Case all Men would be Earnest & follow; I grant More then in a caus more Indifferent to them. yet ye Same distinction of Men Remaines youth & age, batchelours & Married Men, stout or pusillanimous, of wch ye former In every Case are Most fitt and like to act Most effectually. the rest if there be Not a choice, doe but help ye Enimy. /

78r. Then as to Exercise, this is Not to be Called a loos body of Men, Such as a Rable or tumult, wch a small formed force will dissipate however Numerous they are. but they are Composed or formed forces, a Number of Men that have officers whom they owne to Comand and themselves to obey, are Not a rable or Mobile altho raised suddenly, but advance Move & Retire under Comand. And If Men are So listed, with willing Minds, & probably zealous in ye Caus, I may venture to Say a week's being together will be Exercise Enough for ye occasion; their very Marching & quartering will be Exercise. And ffor ye service, No danger will be So great but Such men will goe over, & perhapes with less Reluctance then old soldiers. And Such Service is it Needfull upon Invasions; I mean, to Run & charg ye Enimy In his Confusion of landing (wch is & will Ever be wonderfull great) and a brisk attaq can Scarce fail to have Effect. This is ye temper between ye two Extremes argued by Sr Water [sic] Raleigh. first Men without order running upon ye [Enimy] /

78v. & second Staying to get into order, & letting them land. he determines ffor ye latter (80). But If men in order can be brought to charg them at first, wch is that I argue for, it is Most assuredly ye best, and Can scarce fail.

It is thought if K. Jac. 2. had had No Army, and raised one to have fought ye Invaders; he neither would have Wanted numbers, Nor spirits; and that army he had, wanted No Exercise Nor discipline or any other Encouragemt soldiers Could have, but leaning upon it he found it a broken reed; And that Ever will be ye case of an old stinking corrupted army. If ye Case be Not popular, but Indifferent as york & lancaster, ye lord have Mercy upon us! ffor discipline will act pro as well as con, and there is No security by

Militia exercise, or any humane policy. fiat Justitia, Et Sit Justitia Clara; Nec caelum Nec terra tenet (81). but Even in this case, on wch Side soever ye officer is, he can & will be more Considerable by listing his owne Men, then in leading Men yt signifie Nothing, or sent by owners of Estates perhaps of ye opposite party. /

79r. Then ye question Comes as to officers who Shall choos them, or being chosen who Shall be ye head & have power over them. the Royallists Say ye king, ye Republicans ye people; quis Custodiat ipsos Custodes? (82) the best temper I can give is Men of Estates Resident in ye Country. And these generally will be loyall to ye crowne, and Not fals to ye Interest of the country. So that whatever carracters may be feared or threaten; qualifications may obviate.

But these officers, Country gentlemen are Not soldiers, Nor understand Militia Exercise & discipline; If that be true, it is ffitt to put them to Scool, wch is best done by charging them with Companys & Regiments to study & practise. If this will not doe, you must Stoop, & take ye youk of Mercenary cut throats on yr necks, & be slaves Name & thing, and So you may have officers & soldiers well blooded; Remember the hors & stagg (83). I am Sure if any thing will Make ye Gentry study & practise armes, it is the laying on them ye burthen, & charg of their owne Safety.

And the very question iff ye country gentlemen are fitt or not to be officers sufficient to conduct forces for their owne defence when Regularly Establisht & Commissioned, Supposeth them in a state of slavery irrecoverable. ffor if any Inference in humane politick be just this is: that who are such minors in conduct as not able to defend their owne Estates must become a slavish property of them that are their Gardians.

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

79v. Of the Clergy of England

It hath often Come into My Mind, that the Clergy as the word Imports, Elect or Select (84), should be a Sort of men, more Enfranchised from the common failings of humane nature then they pretend to or Indeed really are. ffor In fact, however they Set up for Conscience, and Exaggerate ag^{t} y^{e} least peccadillo of sin, for any world (85) Ends, and p^{r}tend to be a body of Men, Consolidated as a frontier or bulwark, as well to Receiv as to fend off, all generall attaqs upon truth and Religion of mankind, and particularly laws and Governem^{ts}, primarily Respecting Religion, yet whenever a substantiall tryall comes, they yeild & give way to y^{e} Enimy, bare fac't, & deliver up this publik conscience, & their owne Glory, I was about to Say, (pardon Me!) & Religion, And all this ffor Meer selfish & carnall Ends & Considerations. Surely it was Not So in primitive times. Els y^{e} beadroll of Martirs had Never bin heard off; Such was then y^{e} Spirit of truth in Comon men, but More Eminently in teachers (who were y^{e} clergy, properly speaking) that they dyed rather then doe a lawfull act, If derogatory to the hon.^{r} of christian profession. as to give their bible (their property)

80r. to y^{e} heathen powers, to be done with as they pleased. / would they (Not ffor life or Safety) but ffor positive lucre or gaine, Such as y^{e} Revenews of an Endowed church, or for any worldly pomp or falsness have given their owne preaching the ly? or Sayd to the people, you have Not Now y^{e} same duty you had, it is changed. honnour thy father & Mother is absoleted; wee could Not be So well here, if that law stood; but honnour the adulterer, ffor he is In possession of y^{e} hous & lands, & will keep defend & feed us? or Call a transcendent Sin Gods work & Marvellous in o^{r} Eyes, tantum Religio? (86) but perhaps I goe too farr. I Mean No More then this that when danger & persecution Comes clergy, w^{t}ever they p^{r}tend, are No stouter then comon men; and If Not Concerned with y^{e} Enimy, shall upon p^{r}vailing, be y^{e} caus pura & puta Religiosa (87), share in y^{e} Spoyle, if it So fall out y^{t} he becomes y^{e} Stronger. And the Considerations of Religious & just (88), wey no More with them then with others; and when y^{e} Sin of Multitudes Covers y^{e} Shame, they show how litle Esteem they had of truth, by postponing it to Secular Interest. I say these discoverys soo plainely made, have often made me wonder it Should be so, and that in any profession or body of Comon Men in our days there Should be as Many Stand out a tryall, as of y^{e} clergy. /

80v. My frequent Reflections have produced this Sentiment of y^{e}

Caus of all this change of y^e^ primitive fortitude so degenerously as wee find it is.

Before churches & Revenues were setled, None went in to y^e^ Church as clergy, but Such as were prompted by a zeal that way, and full p^r^paration of Mind, to goe thro all y^e^ fatigue, poverty and Not Seldome, persecution & torture Even to death, attending that profession. I say None, from y^e^ Generallity, Not Excluding hypocrites w^ch^ were many then but Not as Now. ffor what could they Expect to Reward hypocrisy, when to be a christian, & much More a leader or teacher was a mark of poverty, persecution & affliction? Then this caus was Not taken up but by the men Equall to y^e^ Sufferings off it, who knew & Resolved to goe thro all, & So to arrive at their happyness in another world, having litle in this to depend on.

But Now churches & Revenews are Setled, some of luxuriant fullness & plenty, as well as honnours, Jurisdictions, & dominion, such as are temptation by pride & vain Glory, as well as avarice, or
81r. w^ch^ is less, desire of comon food & sustenance. Men seek / these advantages, Not ffor y^e^ End, Religion & being as well Examples, as teachers off an holy, temperate & austere life, but to Enjoy with full throat & swallow y^e^ good things y^e^ church hath. And this is So Notorious, that Men put their Sons to y^e^ clergy, viz^t^ y^e^ universitys (In ordine ad-) (89) as to trades. the father says to y^e^ Son, Study or you will never have a benefice, & if you are a good Scollar you May be a bishop & be Called My Lord. and Men Come Not in to y^e^ Church as clergy, by any choice or zeal of their owne (tho y^e^ forme in ordination Remaines, viz^t^ - have you a Motive within you &c.?) (90) but destined by their parents who Cannot find a readyer & cheaper way to Make their Sons Gentlemen then this is. Then what other Can you Expect but that Men Should have the Same & No better Regard to Religion & duty in this caracter then in any other? or rather is there Not danger it Should be wors with them, for being under a sort of obligation to put on greater austeritys, and shew of piety & Rigor in duty, then other men ordinarily doe, Such being Expected from them, & is their high way to p^r^-
81v. ferment, they learne to hypocritise or act a part w^ch^ / In process of time, may as a Gangreen, Corrupt y^e^ whole systeme of Religion in them, & make y^e^ whole become hypocrite.

I must Confess, I had a great Reverence for y^e^ order till My Experience gave me this Insight and since that, I Renounce all Esteem for person's on y^e^ Nude caracter. but when I have found them Great & Good, wealthy & Charitable, Grave & truely pyous as My Great master of Canterbury (91) was, my Esteem & Reverence

(In particular) ffor them, riseth to a pitch above all I can afford to any secular thing. Their Goodness is above that of lay Men, as their caus, Religion, is above that of y^e^ world, Gaines & Comon Justice. but It is y^e^ person & Not y^e^ order calls me to this; However In y^e^ Service of Religion w^ch^ holds us all, I Esteem my self oblidged to Cover these failings, least others y^t^ may ascribe More to outsides and habits then I doe, may pass from y^e^ person to y^e^ thing, and from Contemning y^e^ former, come to abandon y^e^ other, & with their Reverence for y^e^ persons of clergymen, lay aside their very faith & Religion it self.

It were a great thought, & a greater work, If human skill & power could p^r^tend to Compas it, ffirst knowing how, & then
82r. practising to a Reforme / of the clergy, so that None Should be admitted to that caracter, who were Not Moved in spirit & in truth to undertake it. I Esteem all Interrogation & tryall vaine, ffor Men May speak well, & thinck ill. learning May appear by discours, but Not Integrity; the heart Is Not fathomable. Therfore I see no way but to Rescind all church Revenews & secular power at once, & leav all y^e^ clergy to Shift as well as they may, and that Men Engaged, May if they pleas to other Imploym^ts^ they like better, & others be Entertained y^t^ have a Motive to it. and Subsist by their owne means or by y^e^ means that may fall into y^e^ Church by such ways as wee have an account of in primitive times.

I doe Not say but this would make great alterations and Induce many hard Cases, and is open to Many objections; yet Respecting humane Means I See no other way of Reforming y^e^ State of y^e^ Clergy.

As to objections. ffirst Men bredd to learning & once in y^e^ church setled, are turned off to poverty, being unfitt for other Imployments, who perhaps had sought in time some other trade or Means of living. Here by y^e^ way, y^e^ church is a trade taken up for a livelyhood, but let y^e^ State provide reasonably for them, during
82v. life, & let them be free, if unfitt / for y^e^ church, to dispose themselves to other Imploym^ts^, as their Ingenuity, w^ch^ often is considerable, shall suggest to them. The caracter Indelebilis (92) must be amoved; I see not what Great reason there is to hold Men to an office they are Not ffitt ffor, It seems rather a p^r^judice then an advancem^t^ to Religion to be so strict to that rule.

2. The Country will Not be taught; ffor who will ffor y^e^ sake of good onely teach y^e^ people?

I say Many. as In y^e^ art of Medicin the trad[e] of it is a p^r^judice to y^e^ good it Might doe; ffor If No faculty of phisitians were, Good people would study & practise it Meerly for doing good, whereof

wee see Much continually done by weomen in y^e^ Country; And this Even while it is a trade, & in Repute. how then would they doe it, If it were unlawfull & penal to Make a gaine by Medecin? So while parsons are in townes, licensed & Invested with y^e^ Cure, None Els could If never So capable & disposed, teach the people, but if these were Not, divers voluntary clergy men, Either Resident or Itinerant, would preach to & pray with y^e^ people.

3. The order of y^e^ clergy is a support to Religion so that were there not Sundays and preaching y^e^ Comon people would loos Even christianity it self. /

83r. I beleev much of this to be true, & therefore I am Not ag^t^ the order of y^e^ clergy, but Extreamly for it, & so also ffor the order of y^e^ church service & days of publike prayer, & teaching as it is Now Establisht; And w^ch^ is More, I would have the churches maintained & all y^e^ Hierarchy and Eccl. Jurisdiction, as well as ministers appropriated to townes continued; but Not of lay Nomination; that should be Reserved to y^e^ Bp & his clergy. so that, accipe curam tuam & Meam (93): y^e^ forme in ordination should come truely tam ex corde quam Ex ore Episcopi (94). It is an unreasonable thing that the Grand Cure of y^e^ Bishop Should be by him delegated to the persons nominated by purchasors & hereditours of Man^rs^, but let them ordein, translate & dispose, ffor the service of Cures as in their pious wisdome should appear best, observing allwais the Eccl. Canons. Nay lett the Jurisdiction stand as well as to y^e^ clergy, of their owne nomination & ordination, And also as to Impious Immoralitys of y^e^ laity. but let the Revenews, Grandures, Civil Jurisdiction, and (that w^ch^ is worst) all aid a Brachio seculari (95), ffall. If any one will seriously attend the history of the latter christian church; they will find that all y^e^ evils y^t^ were & are, and as well scandalls as Impedim^ts^ of Reforme, proceed from these

83v. things / And y^e^ church was Not Much Corrupted, untill the worldly Interest of it was Growne up & adult, w^ch^ I stay Not Now to demonstrate; but by y^e^ way observe Symon Magus offered Mony for spirituall power, that is y^e^ power to doe Miracles, or of Inspiring christian Grace & ardor or Sublimity of faith, such as y^e^ Apostles Had really & actually (96). Now the apostles (If I may So terme y^e^ clergy) take the mony, that is the church Revenews, and with them, a p^r^tension, or shew of Stirring up a spirit of holyness in y^e^ people, as is to be feared, with as litle Effect, as Symon Magus Indeavoured it.

4. lastly It is to be objected, that hereticall men will come into y^e^ church, & by preaching & praying more speciously (perhaps, as o^r^ Sectarys doe) then y^e^ Regular clergy, corrupt y^e^ people, & in

them Christian Religion.

I ans^{r}, ffirst the late practise of y^{e} world in using force In the affaires of Religion, is in it self absurd, & Even Nonsence (97). Conscience is a governour, that will have No Earthly Superior, it May be Invited but Not driven; Nay the right owner hath No power over it, how Should Exterior powers? Suppose a magistrate Should
84r. cite the / Students of Geometry, and oblidg them to owne & confess, quod Equalia Equalibus sunt InEqualia (98), & to Renounce y^{e} Contraria (99). It is like rather then Suffer, most would Comply. but None Could say this did good or hurt to y^{e} Science, ffor that would reigne in all their minds as clear otherwise (in y^{t} axiom) as before. perhaps it might divert from y^{e} Study, & make them Ceas to be Geometers. or If any one, as Hobbs, should publish crude & fals doctrine, Such as a Right line Equall to an arch of a circle, & persist in it Contrary to the sence of all other men, would you have this man brought to y^{e} stake, & for advancem^{t} of truth, Made Recant, or be burnt? (100) No it Needs Not, ffor his affirming or Recanting works Not on y^{e} Minds of Men. but they goe to their Methods and Examine y^{e} proposition, & y^{e} Stepps of his demonstration, & finding it fals, Expose him to Contempt, and are More Confirmed in truth.

I put this case of an axiom In Geometry; Altho christian Religion is not of that sort, that is doth Not Reside In quantity or demension, yet to clear minds hath its demonstration as lively as y^{e} other w^{ch}
84v. any one May be satisfied of who will read Grotius / de veritate (101) &c. Then Allowing that men will be of pervers Judgm^{ts} & caracters, and be as zealous & Industrious in propagating Error, as better men comonly have for truth. and that they have some proselites or congregations. what is the Millitancy of y^{e} church, or to speak properer of the churchmen, but to Insult these opinions, and as well condemne them In Ecclesiasticall Synods as publikly write & preach ag^{t} them. ffor w^{ch} End wee have universitys & librarys, ffor Enabling men to learne as well y^{e} force as y^{e} fallacys of words, and the History of times & things, out of w^{ch} they may Issue to Combat y^{e} Enimy.

But y^{e} State will Not be Safe. What hath y^{e} State to doe with this? Either y^{e} State will lett y^{e} church act according to christian usage & canons, or Not, if y^{e} latter, they are persecutors, like y^{e} heathen, & this is No New case in y^{e} christian church. on y^{e} other side, what hath y^{e} christian church to doe with y^{e} Estate? let them Not Interpose in Matters of Governem^{t} & power, Nor stirr up y^{e} people In any case ffor or ag^{t} any Governem^{t}, Regular or usurped. let them
85r. teach y^{e} people to be temperate, Just / and lovers of order & peace. If men will Engage in warr & turmoil, lett them admonish them to

keep a good Conscience, & doe Nothing ffor favour fear or ambition ag^{t} Right, and Ever to keep a Mind disposed to tranquillity, but avoid Medling themselves in state questions. I know this temper since primitive christianity hath Not bin, Nor will be found in y^{e} world, but there is allwais some measure of it In some men who signalise themselves in Eminent vertues & piety, Such as My Great Master (102), but they are or appear but ffew, & In some times more then others; yet it is certein that were men in armes ready to fight with all the Rancor faction & ambition Could Inspire; such men as these, might pass thro them, as y^{e} purer Ether thro Glass (103), and convers preach or perswade without touching the fundamentall caus, but upon universally approved truths, w^{ch} would be gratefull In y^{e} worst of them to hear.

It is the Nature of Mankind, ffirst to love good and next persons that are good. all w^{ch} they Judg from what opposes or Not opposes them, whither their porposes are So or Not. It is found that y^{e} word disinterested, is y^{e} best caracter of a [speech], and men
85v. beleev'd so, are admitted to universall amity / & peace; Even among y^{e} Most barbarous Nations of y^{e} levant, a wretched mortified Man that Carrys but his Staff, & Sack of wretched food, may pass in all places, tho Inhabited by profest Murderers & theivs, & Not onely be lett pass, but be hospitably Enterteined. So the wonderfully good Bishop frampton passed in disguise amon y^{e} Arabbs (104). Nay y^{t} Els men have a favour for good is seen in Every fable or play, where all y^{e} audience are Glad thatt y^{e} wicked parts are punished & y^{e} Innocent and vertuous Escape. w^{ch} proves y^{e} principle in them, however y^{e} practise & ambitions in y^{e} world tinct it of wicked Colours. but here in a disinterested Case of a fable, the sparks of y^{e} divinity in humane Nature appear. So that I may Say, worldly Interest is the onely thing the church hath to Make warr against, for that Set aside, truth & Reason hath a wonderfull force (105). And w^{t} is to be Expected but that all Should give way, when the church men take part with y^{e} Enimy, Self-Interest, and give it quarters in their owne Camp.

I Must allow that Men will rise up to deceiv weak people, and will both cheat their understandings, & purses too. but if lett alone /
86r. y^{e} Smart from y^{e} wounds given y^{e} latter, will awake y^{e} other, and work towards a reforme, by Reconciling them to y^{e} Regular clergy, who they will find the onely phisitians of their Souls, & More Effectually by how much they observe them Not to plott against purses.

But Grant that fals doctrine is preacht & talked about, what is a clergy for but this very Case? the primitives had y^{e} heathen, these

hereticks to deal with. It is y^e^ End & Exercise of their function. wee will agree it were better that Men were Not so pervers, but that christians lived quiet in their minds without Such attaqs upon their faith. but would Not y^e^ clergy then Grow Insipid, & unfitt to deal with Hereticks when any should arise? It is Sayd y^e^ clergy of England is y^e^ most able in controversie of any in y^e^ world (106); why? becaus (as they all abroad allow) they are kept in perpetuall Exercise by y^e^ papists & Sectarys. So It is the case of y^e^ church, lulls will come, bad men will rise up & molest y^e^ good in Mind as well as Exteriour fortune; therefore as wee have a state militia, So also wee have an Ecclesiasticall one to Engage & suppress y^e^ turbulent spirits. and these doe well in their peculiar posts, but serve Not /
86v. In y^e^ province of Each other. An army can No more work downe a p^r^vailing opinion, then a preacher can Suppress a Rebellion. So lett y^e^ force of armes keep its post and deal with Nothing but its homogeneall province, force. and let y^e^ clergy who have to doe with mens opinions, Goe No farther, but manage their artilery of arguments & Gett y^e^ better, as probably In process of time (tho y^e^ world hath & Ever will have much disturbance from Ignorance & delusion possessing Mens Minds) will p^r^vail. Magna Est veritas & p^r^valebit (107).

let Me Conclude with a great and Notorious Instance of this doctrine, the practise of w^ch^ gives the greatest blow to Christianity, that any human Means hath bin permitted to doe, since o^r^ Saviours time. I mean y^e^ law of y^e^ turks; That people, whose heresy is derived from y^e^ Arrians (108), So Coming Nerer to Christianity is y^e^ More dangerous; and if y^e^ story of Mahomet, were not super-Induced, a turk were a reall arrian Christian; of reasonable faith in Most points but y^t^ of y^e^ devinity of O^r^ Saviour. These Turks have a zealous rable as wee have who are ready to beat downe & destroy with barbarous force all that is Not of their owne opinion. /
87r. But that is Not y^e^ Measure, but y^e^ law, and the practise of their Magistrates, And those doe permitt all Religions and sects to use their owne worship in their owne way, publik & private, without disturbance. And they will Not onely punish their owne people that (as Some zealots will) Insult them, but also the peculiar persons as shall be accused by their owne Nation, for breach of their Nationall religion. ffor Say they all men ought to be good and pious in y^e^ way of their owne worship w^t^ever it is and y^t^ true Religion is hurt by Irreverence & scandall to a fals one (109).

It is a strang Sight at Const.^o^ when y^e^ fryars ([cr]ude ones as they are) going with y^e^ Sanctissimo in procession to a sick christian. So also y^e^ Jews bauling out a dead jew to his funerall (110), and the

turks standing by, admiring their folly & stupidity as they Express, of those unbeleevers. but None offers to hurt them. This Moderation of theirs is the Great if Not y^e^ onely reason that So Many Christians appostatize to y^e^ turks, but few or None come over to y^e^ christians.

for In y^e^ conterminous Countrys, as Hungary &c. the persecutions of Sects among y^e^ christians, ffrom y^e^ Jesuits, & other papis-
87v. ticall Incentives [are such] that a / christian Cannot be So well protected, as by turning turk; & that he may doe as Impuni as Not Conforme to y^e^ Church of Rome (111). What is this but to betray Christianity by using force upon opinion? And what is y^e^ End of all this Exterior force, Not to defend faith, but Grandure & wealth. It is a wors then humane, I might say diabolicall policy. Ill Gotten Goods, so usually acquired by live force, are maintained by y^e^ Same active violence. And Mens opinions are Guarded & Garrisoned, least y^e^ Surrender of them however Irresistible y^e^ artigliery of arguments are, should Expose such a corrupt Interest, as that (Not of y^e^ christian church, which is still pure In y^e^ hearts of good men) but of church Men, and tend to its downe fall.

It is Impossible to Exclude deceivours, & fals teachers & p^r^vent their working upon weak peoples minds. But they are to be opposed, with a Regular learned & self-denying clergy, w^ch^ Reigning let them come, we fear 'em Not. but let Not y^e^ Imbecility or rather scandalous avarice, pride and ambition of y^e^ clergy w^ch^ onely Makes y^e^ Enimy terrible, Supplant christian Religion it Self.

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

60r. of Selling.

It is generally accounted lawfull for a man to keep what is his owne, & Not to Sell to any but at a price to his owne Content, and that ye owner & none Els makes ye price. upon this principle is all trade, & ye lawfullness of its Gaine built. But as unlawfull use may be made of lawfull powers, so In this particular of trade, it may fall out so that a man is bound to take less then he May have. As In time of dearth, a Man ought to Sell corne and flesh at a moderate prise, and Not Insist upon Such high rates as hunger will constrain men to give. So usury wch is ye Selling ye profit to be made, by ye use of mony, is a lawfull trade, whereof it is lawfull to make the best profit. but If ye Case be that poverty pinch men, so as Shall force 'Em to give any usury for prsent Eas, ye usurer ought Not to take that advantage; for it will be offered him to their Extream & Manifest loss, considering ye Gaines possible to be made of Mony. but onely as I say'd for prsent Eas. And in this case ye usurer ought to Consider ye Market in generall, &
60v. not that persons particular / circumstances, and taking a Share to himself, give ye borrower room for competent profit. But generally speaking this goes to ye Conscience onely, & Not to law coercively oblidging. yet sometimes, from ye Equity on one side & Inequity on ye other, & Mischeif to ye publick, wch makes a sort of Necessity, laws have Restrained prises in trade, as that of Bread (112), wch Every one Must have or perish. So also of usury, wch is Now limited to 6 pr. cent pr. an. & was 8 & 10 (113); wch Restrictive laws made for ye Common Support & Releif of ye Indigent, & for prventing oppression, are just, I might Say necessary, for If all were left to Conscience, there would be litle mercy seen, where Gaine tempts to cruelty & oppression. I observe these laws have bin made in cases of things necessary to life, & the support of familys, as provisions, & usury, wch In some measure Indulgeth all manner of Exaction, where ye law doth Not Interpose, and leavs men to their Naturall liberty to sell or Not, & at wt prises they pleas. And it is No less ordinary then lawfull to monopolise, & Exact to any
61r. degree, In ye trade of Gayetys & / Gallanterys; as also others more Substantial As Grazing, Horses, Manufactures &c; wch goe in a Cours of whole sale trade, & are Not Retailed to ye Comunalty of ye Nation. and ye practice is among Merchants accordingly & ye laws permitt it, to Encourage trade. But yet one would thinck, Even in trifles, there is a Sort of Moderation to be in Conscience used: as Now ye fashion is for ladys to wear Muslins (114), If one

Of Selling.

It is generally accounted Lawfull for a man to keep what is his owne, & Not to Sell to any, but at a price to his owne Content, and that is manner, & none els makes ye price. upon this principle is all trade, & ye Lawfull nett of ye Gaine Built. But as unlawfull use may be made of Lawfull powers, so in this particular of trade, it may fall out and to that ammount is found to take Care then he may have. As in time of dearth, a man ought to Sell corne, at a Moderate price, and Not Insist upon Such high rates as hunger will Constrain men to give. So usury, wch is ye Selling of profit to be made, by ye use of Money, is a Lawfull trade wherein it is Lawfull to make the best profit. But if ye Case be that poverty & pinch men so as to give any usury for present Relief, ye usurer ought not to take that advantage. for it will be effected him to manifest Love, Conniday & Gaines possible to be made of Money. But if I say for present Relief. And in this Case ye usurer ought to Consider ye Market in generall, & not that perticular Case=

should Ingross ye whole, he might Mak' Great profit, becaus he adventures great stock, but Not So Much as Men & weomens folly & vanity would urge them to give; The reason is that wee ought Not to Make use of Mens follys, to abuse them. and when a vanity reignes, it is a folly wch should be handled with moderation, & Not be made use of to Ruin familys. And it May also Happen, that things ordinaryly superfluous, may become Necessary; as for Instance Coffee (115); If Custome hath prvailed so farr as to Make it necessary to a generall wellfare, as Ale is, tho water will Suffice Nature, It falls within ye Catalogue of victualls; and as such ought to be dealt forth with moderation. Therefore all men Should Consider circumstances of ye prsent time; and then observe ye
61v. Golden / Rule, doe as they would be dealt wth, wch is a law, sacred; as any (116).

This for lawfullness, there is a question of honr touching selling, & it is whether a gentleman may sell ye quary of his sport, without staining his quality. as deer, Fish, &c. This must be desided with a difference, & that is between a quarry appropriated, & at larg. the former I Conclude is lawfull and honourable, and moreover prudently turned to profitt by persons of all qualitys. but the other Not. That is If a Man hath a stock of deer in parks, fishes in ponds, patridges in Mews, & ye like, and of the product of such Stocks makes mony, he gives an Example, rather to be followed then censured. for In wt sence is there any difference between these and corne or cattell. The objection is, what? sell things of Royalty and sport? The fallacy of wch is in applying that in ye Generall wch is true onely of a particular. Some things of sport ough[t] not In honr to be sold; others may. therefor it is fals reasoning to say becaus some may not, none may. but the way of slight & superficiall persons, is comonly to argue upon Such Mistakes,
62r. and to condemne / As Magisterially as the pope ex Cathedra. but true wisdome searcheth to ye bottom, and draws no propositions to Engage it Self in contradictions; Therefore beware of Generalls, In wch fallacy often lurks. To the point, it is unlawfull in honr to sell Common Game, and why? ye reason is plaine. there is a comon right Imply'd, wch allows a man Not to seek ye Comon game for profit but pleasure onely. And this is Consistent with the designe of all gentlemen, to have a spurr, or temptation abroad, by ye Game, for Exercise, health & sport; and at last making ye best cheer may be done with what it [sic] taken. But to follow ye Game to sell, is to Robb others of their Implyed right to sporting. And this is branded wth ye Infamous name of a pocher. If that Cours should be taken by others, as Nothing hinders but all may,

ye Game would be turned into a trade of plunder, and ye country allow'd ffor sport, would be like ye Enimys confines full of destroyers. This is it condemnes selling of Game, but is Not ye Case of appropriated stores, wch Every man, as ye product of his Estate
62v. may dispose as he pleaseth (117). this is knowne in / Itally, where all men of quality, even sovereigne princes, sell wine out of their pallaces, and he is a Great prince Indeed, qui vende vino per tutt il anno (118).

There is one Custome much to be blamed and it is ye usuall fals dealing among gentlemen in selling of horses. Altho it be lawfull to take any price, it is not lawfull to falsifie. but In that trade it is comonly say'd a man may cheat his father. No man is bound to declare ye faults of a beast, hors or ox, Nor to warrant he has 2. Ears. Caveat Emptor (119), but the affirming his Good qualitys when he is peccant, and this with a world of words, perhaps oaths, as ye practise is, or Indeed to use small shifts In concealing faults, Either by patching up a hors with fals flesh, or not shewing ye right side, are arts, If not very unlawfull: they are certeinly very unbecoming a gentleman, Especially when he treats with another of his owne degree who Relys on his honr and should be rather surrender-
63r. ed to ye small traders in Smithfield. / Another humour takes among gentlemen and that is Exchanging, wch Northward is Called Handycap (120) and used onely or cheifly for horses; In Norfolk ye Comon word, swopp, prvailes, and it goes to all manner of things. Horses, sadles, pistoles, whipps, periwiggs, Gloves, Doggs watches, Hatts, Canes, Cravatts & all manner of things. It is strang to see how sprightly an enterteinmt it is, to be 6. hours working a swopp, over drink. This I doe not blame as an Indecent humour, provided it were true frolick & arose by accident from heat of Drink, or rather want of prsent witt, Enough to maintaine discours and cheerfullness. But there shall be long winded sober platts to draw one & other in to swopps, meetings appointed, & assistant drinkers lay'd in, and a world of prmeditated lying. This makes a folly too serious, as well as degenerous for gentlemen to draw into comon practice, and dull sobriety better becomes then such a sort of base witt as oracles In these paultry designes. /

63v. There is another fault comon in one sort of trade, wch deserves a satir with a whip rather, then a calme admonition, & that is land. there is so litle conscience in yt trade, that gentlemen no sooner determine to sell an Estate, but they goe to fals letting, bribing mens agents that treat, and all ye fals wickedness Imaginable to rais & keep up ye yearly profit, by wch ye Measure of value is comonly taken. If men did not judg by vulgar customes & opinions,

but truth & y^e^ nature of things w^ch^ No arbitrary power on Earth Can alter, they would conclude that, a p^r^meditated fals value put upon an Estate, as usually is done In order to Sell, is a wors cheat, and more Scandalous baseness then any newgate practise whatsoever. As If a man with such designe makes a leas, & says: boy (as y^e^ language is) you shall give me 40℔ a year, but I will forgive you y^e^ 2. first years (of 7) or it maybe, I will throw back 10, ten pound a year, when you pay. This is so Nasty a pudle, and such p^r^-
64r. tended hon^bl^ persons concerned in it, that I forbear Raking / more in it, but dismiss the matter & them with this old observation, w^ch^ is Neither warrant Nor Excuse: Necessitas Cogit ad turpia (121).

BM, Add. MSS. 32530

12r. Etimology, as other Criticall Studys, are very usefull In yᵉ world

But I Intend Not to lett pass so Slightly, that oʳ ordinary Etimology, or meer Crittiq of words is but an Empty or vaine Curiosity, of No use in yᵉ world, being about to demonstrate yᵉ Contrary & to Shew that these Studys In yᵉ way of Critticisme, how starved soever such as have No pleasure in Industry & discovery May esteem them, are Not onely usefull, but often Necessary to the dispatch of the most Important affaires. And that it is a felicity In yᵉ way of all knowledg, that there have bin, are, & probably Ever will be, some who are philalethes (122), & Sequester themselves ffrom Easy, & Gainefull studys, to Exhaust their time, In Extricating abstruce subjects, such as cronology, Antiquity, & languages. And all for No better Reward then the adding a truth or two as they hope, to the stock that is already In yᵉ world.

I know very well that ffew Even of them who are bookish care for this laborious Cours; ffor Men that Serve had rather be pages &
12v. valets then / cooks & brewers, tho yᵉ latter are More Necessary to yᵉ Subsistance of yᵉ family. Oʳ Comfort is No particular persons Relish is decisive of Good & Evil, usefull & unprofitable, but yᵉ Nature of things on wᶜʰ leans all Reall vertue & prais. I Remember a wild gentleman walking thro pauls churchyard (123), sayd to his Companion, I wonder how these dambd booksellers live ffor By ... I never bought a book in all My life. Many persons have as Mean an opinion of criticall Studys, as he had of books, and all Conclude with Reason alike.

But to discuss this matter a little More diffusedly let us devide yᵉ whole race of mankind Into 3 sortments: 1. learned 2. unlearned 3. Barbarous.

1. The learned, If they have any Ingenuity Must owne the light of their Eys to the Critiques. Are Not their performancês Ever in their hands, that is Corrections & Emendations as well as Interpretations of old authors. Resolving & applying Ancient Medalls & Inscriptions; Examinations of Cronology. Exposing Impostures & fictitious
13r. Authors, / Collating ancient history, Geografy, & topografy, besides an Infinite Mass of Notes, Coments, Etimologicons, Glossarys, lexicons. Hunting after old Manuscripts & fragments; and from Evidences drawne out Either from unthought of corners, or the Subtilety of their braines, disprove Errors in yᵉ past, and add New & surprising accounts of persons & things. As if their Sagacity and Indefatigable Industry were provided for posterity by providence to

supply the generall oscitancy In ye lives of Most men who take No care to prvent their Memory perishing with them. It is Most certein that No mans life in Study can comand all those subjects he hath occasion to know; And No one Subject can be Exhaust to ye Content of a Students Mind, without more or less calling upon Every other Subject In ye Class of learning, to give it perfection. Such a chaine is there in knowledg, as In Natural Causes of things, wch have perpetuall coherence, & All finally depending on ye first & comon principles of things. Therefore as I sayd, It is a felicity /
13v. to all persuit of knowledg, that on Every occasion men can readily Repair to ye works of ye Crittiques ffor an account of most difficult and unobvious Studys. It is but procure ye books & Inspect them, And strait reap ye fruit of other Mens Infinite paines & Invention; and this great advantage is had by men who, with all their application & paines In any one branch of Critticisme could Never have procured what they ffind In books ready drawne up from ye bowells of darkness, Refined & Made Intelligible, & so ffit ffor their capacitys; And hereby all the Ends of learning are answered.

If wee suppose a Mighty pile of building to be raised, It would Goe on sorrily, If onely speculative architects were to labour at it. therefore men are chosen out & Imployed after their Capacity, to labour In the many severall sorts of work, till ye whole is closed. So it is In ye fabrick of learning, all men are Not fit for all subjects but Many are by Nature & genius prone to Some particular Sort; such as Antiquarys, Crittiqs, Mathematitians, &c. Some are Made for searching, others for Judging. those yt are most competent /
14r. for ye one, as to ye other are often altogether Inept. Judgmt is Not had by allwais poring upon any one Subject, but by a Comprehension of Many so that from perpetuall Collation of things In their minds, they come to discerne their Natures, & differences. Therefore the Crittiques labour to raise ye Ore, and the Men of freer speculation Refine it; The Endeavours of Each Reciprocally assisting Each other, In obteining the generall Ends aimed at In ye world.

Besides life it self doth Not give time to any one person to prosecute Effectually any designe In study without these auxiliarys; I might say Ages have Not sufficient ffor wch reason it is Necessary that the buissness be distributed out to among Such whose zeal as well as capacity promise a good account of what they undertake. When those who are most capable, undertake too Much, the Result is Not knowledg, but disorder & Confusion, as was Sayd of a french pedant that had all books almost by heart & yet was No scollar; that his head was Un bibliotheq Renversee (124). All wch demon-

14v. strates / how Necessary it is that Men should be wholly sequestred, as many spontaneously are, to persue & trace the utmost Recesses of Every dark & criticall subject. Somewhat will arise from their Industry, beneficiall to those who are In like manner Imployed In others. So tradesmen supply Each others occasions, of whom No one however Ingenious & Industrious, without Such help, Could Supply himself. And as to y^e^ Crittiqs, I may, with peace to y^e^ Grand superintenders of witt, affirme that Most, If not all the knowledg In y^e^ world (as hony to y^e^ bee) is owing to their Industry & perseverance. And Even those who convers most with their works, and thence Extract the Marrow, and by assimilation, Make it look like their owne, are accounted the ablest scollars. And In this Eulogy of Criticisme, I must Not forget to declare particularly In favour of that w^ch^ deals In language, as claiming a full share; ffor it is thro languages, wee Come at things. And since It was thought Worthy a Miracle, Inspiring the Apostles to preach to all Nations In their proper language (125), It is surely Not unworthy the utmost
15r. force of Humane Endeavours, to obtein / a like skill, tho by the comon means of drudgery, Since if rightly used, it May, and Most Emenently doth yet subserve those great Ends, as well as Conduce to the Increas of secular knowledg in y^e^ world.

2. As for the unlearned, or the less or secondary learned part of Mankind, that is The Cominalty, & Such as are Not much addicted to books, yet have a sort of traditionall knowledg of Most ordinary Subjects, w^ch^ learned men have Refined & digested, & thro y^e^ Means of books primarily, and then by conversation, propagated occasionally among y^e^ Generallity of Mankind, by w^ch^ they have y^e^ hon^r^ to be distinguished from barbares; as there is a difference between such as see by a Reflected secondary light, & such as have None at all. It is Obvious Enough that all advantages of learning in y^e^ world, is More or less derived to these, whom I will distinguish Into 2. Sorts. 1. The Arrogant 2. The Modest. 1. As for the former, Especially those of better Extract, they are Such as have had from y^e^ piety & care of parents, or freinds, the ordinary advantage of
15v. Education, w^ch^ Made them capable of / Improvem^ts^, If their genius had bin so kind to urge them to it. but being qualified to pass their time with y^e^ bigger vulgar, soon set up for originalls, and what with Early whipping, and latter conversation, they have Imbibed a feint tinct of most sorts of Comon Erudition. And know that Moses was before Christ, and that Alexander & Ceasar In their time Made a great havock somewhere; that the Romans were an huge Great Commonwealth, and at length ffell to be Governed by armys and the commander[s] in cheif called Emperours. Having travelled they can

tell wch way france lys, and that popery hath a great Stroke in Italy. That venice is a politick state, and hath a Duke, a fitt modell to Make Kings of England by. That Holland is a common wealth, and the ukraine is Not in the palatinate (126). And at this rate, by perpetuall Company keeping, they are Instructed with Scrapps & Names of somewhat to thro out, like, as they thinck, what they have heard others of More knowledg chatter. And Most audaciously In ye Caus agt christianity & comon honesty, but for want of apt furniture to uphold that debate, they take up with railing against /
16r. All serious Studys, composedness & vertue. Every Grave person is a Solemne Ass, and If honest, a coxcomb; All Treachery & lying is witt, and all yt are Caught in ye trapp, dull fools. Saying Grace Impertinent, the Sight of a parson Nauseous, and fitt to Make one Refund a Meal. thus Armed with a parrottine way of talk, Make a Shift to Impose on such as know them Not, who at first sight doe Not perceiv that what they babble is Not their owne, & So Mistake them. It is No less true then Strang, that folks bredd in good Company Shall by Memory & Imitation talk as If they understood Notable things, without any Graine of true Sence in them. And Such are these, whose braines are More raggs then patchwork, for that hangs together. They are Not Dunces but wors. for those prtend litle, Gather slow, but Sure; these are Shaddows of Sence, by wch you may Guess yt Substance is Not farr off, but you find it Not there. It is one of their peculiar Excellences, to Arrogate the Scrapps they Gather, to ye Strength of their owne brain. As If they Invented all they utter; and perpetually deride the true Authors of what they would be thought to know, Men Retired, Studious, &
16v. Modest. / Had it Not bin from such, these men had bin more wretched then the Most brutish Savages and as they are have Not much advantage of ye better sort of them. The Suns influence In ye center of a Milstone is More luciferous, then learning is warme In these Mens Apprehensions & discours. If it signifie any thing, It is but as the faintest of Resemblances, Nothing of the Efficacy or vertue; what shall I call it? A Corruscation just Seen thro their Impertinence. As stale fish & Rotten post in ye Dark. And Now at parting, to oblidg them with another simile, they are like wasps, whose Nois is Importune & troublesome as well as their actions bold & sawcy; you being too buisy with them, may chance to be Stung with Some brutish Affront, but it is No hard Matter to drive them away. Whither these men approve or Not, you will allow, In reality Imports litle, but Regarding Comon fame they are a Considerable body serving in the divelish quality of Runners up & downe In Companys to dispers Mischeif (for good hath Seldome that

Cours). And thus I leav 'em to their haunts, certein Coffee houses, where such as Need may find them No less worthily Imployed. /

17r. 2. The other sort of these second-handed literati are the generality of Indifferent Men, who being bredd in Civill Society, & advanced In Imploym^{ts} & buissness, without acquired Scollarship, are yet Enough knowing, and doe Not p^{r}sume beyond their skill. Their Judgment, as well as Inclination disposeth them to weigh & know before they lay up. They read ordinary books, hear sermons, hearken to discours, & Collate all with the Notorious & observable actions of men In time and view. they are Not piquant, Nor Raillieurs; I thinck a jester was Never found to have worth. They are Not apt to thro out, and doing so, It is with designe rather to draw from others then Arrogate ought to themselves. In short they use a discretion & Good Nature In Company, And so without learned Improvem^{ts}, they have y^{e} fruits rather as Merchants Importers, then laborious farmers. And It is found by Experience, that men thus accoutered In their Understandings are fitter for, & dispatch More buissness, then profest Studyers of it. These are y^{e} Caracters of 2 Extreams: I doe Not p^{r}tend that in such degree they are readily to be Mett with; But More or less, one cannot look out without /

17v. Stumbling on Some In whome it is Not hard to discerne their p^{r}tensions to place in these descriptions.

I would Note once for all, that when I Recommend critticisme, It is In y^{e} Cabinett, & Not in y^{e} Hostel-de-ville. ffor In buissness Nicetys will ever be found Impediments. pratick affairs will Move upon Gross & Not fine spun arguments, Neither will persons or things Stay ffor the close of Gold-Scales deliberations. those y^{t} are to be dealt with, or to Receiv Instructions, will Not be charged & primed with Subtiletys, to shoot with any Effect. The chariott In y^{e} road of buissness Must pass as it May; It will Never run Exactly Even, but jumble over all the ordinary rubbs & asperitys usually found In it. and It Suffiseth that the road be the right w^{ch} leads to y^{e} End, No Matter how Rugged: And less time & paines is spent in Going slower or tossing, then standing still, while y^{e} way is levigated & all Impedim^{ts} Removed; If that were, as it is Not, possible to be done. so great manages directed on a right principle are always Most Effectually performed, without such paltry sollicitudes. This Ineptitude of crittiques as to buissness, is Not a litle

18r. deminution of their value. / It Makes them accounted rather chicaneurs then agents, disposed to trouble, rather then foreward affairs. And those who are Adroit in buissness are sorry to be Joyned with them, & sigh at their Entry amongst them. There is Mistake on

both sides, and It consists In Not distinguishing between speculation & practis, facultys as different as Grammar & Merchandise. therefore Each should have his proper post assigned, and then all act without uneasiness or Reflection. It Must be allow^{d} on y^{e} one side, that the men of prattiq originally derive their skill from those of speculation, but their dexterity and dispatch Either from a peculiar Genius, or Els Experience. So on y^{e} other side The men of Theory cannot arrive at a dexterous dispatch but from Exercitation & usage, but have their knowledg from study. And when both these capacitys are Joyned In the same persons, there is the culmen of human power, and hath bin Eminently Made appear in the prodigious undertakings & successes of some persons recorded in History. Those Most celebrated are Alexander & Cesar, both bookish, and both Entreprenant & successfull in the most difficult of all worldly /
18v. Buissness, Managing Men so as to Make them Industrious to compass their Greatness, thro their owne destruction; the one by rash & ceasless fighting; & y^{e} other by civil tumult & sedition that is In short Making Men labour to cheat themselves. The onely Case w^{ch} in action admitts of Nice scrupule, is that of Duty; In w^{ch} men, Especially those in stations of great Importance, may be allowed a carefull Sollicitude to p^{r}vent Erring, for In civil & Morall cases, there is No paine but doubdt. And this is Not onely on account of the Duty, In w^{ch} for conscience sake men ought to be strickt, but for the consequences. during the deliberation, ffals steps look very litle, If not contrarily Inviting fair (127), but after they are made they Grow bigger, Rave & strutt; as If there were a sort of treachery In Error, to fawn & smile at first, but after the pass made, then to bellow & Roar. And some persons are allowed in More of this scrupulosity then others. therefore churchmen & courtiers are ill Joyned in buissness. the latter are for making all fly afore the designe; the other as profest teachers are More Immediately oblidged to consider Justice & decency. for this reason a witty Statesman at a Coronation Councell In w^{ch} a most Reverend p^{r}late In order to adjust to his Satisfaction what lay in his province to performe debated leisurely with More Nicety then others in hast thought well of, after he was Gone, Grew very angry, & sayd his Name Should be sede vacante (128).

BM, Add. MSS. 32530

36r. Of Termes of Art (129), Style & Idioms

Taking it then for Granted, first that the fastidious difficulty of acquiring an Easy Intelligence of New languages, and the Insuperable task of translating justly, Makes it Expedient to take Into our owne, the litterate words & modes of expression, ffound ordinarily In ye best books, without aiming at altering or Mending them; And Next that all learning, be it scientifick or pracktick, cannot subsist without such, Either borrowed or Invented. I add a third Remarq, wch is that it is almost Indifferent with Regard to use, what those termes or Expressions are, provided they are knowne to have bin used to such & such porposes. And If any Elegance, brevity, or other Comendable property be prdicated of some to prferr them to others, that one single qualification of having bin once In use, getts the better of all others. and that is the case of our comon learned languages, the books whereof are fretted with ye hands of almost Every Studious person; and thereby they are No Strangers to their termes and Idioms. therefore it is Gross Imposition to prtend dis-

36v. coursing of Such matters / as they treat under any other termes, then Such as they use; ffor that is to obtrude a New language to be learnt In ye Room of an old one already knowne; and one may justly say, why doth this fellow trouble us with his New fangled words, whose Sence is Not Exactly defined, when wee have a sufficient stock of ye old ones, that Every one understands. is it So Easy to bear in Mind new names of termes? Such as teach children, May Enter them In what Idioms they pleas, being white papers (130) & Indifferent to all. and It would serve ye turne in ye Confines of ye Scool; but abroad all Novelty of Speech is affected Gibberish; Such as men may talk with designe Not to be understood. language is but an Instrumentall Conveyance of things from one Mans mind to another; and that surely is ye best tool that Most readyly & Effectually doth the work. It is Now a generall Institution of youth, to be acquainted with the Classick tongues, wch gives them a prpossession of language as to all arts & philosofy, conveyed by them; and (131) this paines will Not be lost upon them, conclamatum Est (132) as to all prtensions to Innovation. therefore It happens that these tongues are become quasi an universall as well as philosofick language, wch tho Not a Compleat one, yet

37r. being Most / Early and generally acquired, serves the turne, & as to all philosofick & artfull termes (133), will hold out agt all that ye Witt of Man Shall Introduce to dispossess them.

There have bin some so fond of their Native Idiom and particular-

ly among us of the Anglo-Saxon dialect, as to Indure Nothing that varys from it. And they (for Example) prtend that ye ordinary English is competent for all Manner of Expression without ye aid of any Exotick words. And accordingly would have that a Standard to rule all by, and If occasions Extraordinary happen, to use uncomon words, they Must Not be taken from forrein languages, but Coyned with analogy to our owne. As to this opinion, I desire to distinguish 1. If it be understood In opposition onely to vain affectation, of using borrowed or out-of-the-way words; a vice much Reigning among a raw order of scollars, & artists; Who doe it Not for necessity, or advantage; but for ostentation & levity. and while they might have as good, If Not better out of the ordinary English; I Say In this sence, I wholly Subscribe; ffor Nothing is More frivolous, then a Needless Extravagance, In action, dress & speech. As to ye later, Dr Browne is an Eminent Instance ffor
37v. he was a man Judicious & learned, but was / so farr gone with ye pedantry of his profession, as he could Not write of Comon things but in latin & Greek; Wittness, Stirrop; wch he Calls a Suppedaneous Stability. the former is a proper name, & short; ye other is wee know not what, and hath double ye letters; an Error wors then labour In vaine, becaus it is to bad porpose, and sets up Indefinites In the roome of certein & appropriate termes. the Commutation in this Instance is so faulty, that it is a Revers of the Maine & onely rule of borrowing in language, wch is to supply one that wants out of another that abounds; for this Quitts a Name proper In ye language in wch he writes, for a Circumlocution out of a language, that hath No proper Name. and to say truth, ye Romans Had Not stirrop, Name Nor thing, therefore the familiarity with their language in this particular, was by chance, but very unlucky; whoever will observe a world More of this vanity, May peruse ye vulgar Errors (134). I cannot Excuse or Naturallists, who Make their conceptions less Esteemed by an overfamiliarity with latine commixt in their English. I doe allow it will pass better In such subjects then in others More vulgar, becaus ffew Medle with them that are Not Compotes (135) of the latin it Self, & perhaps ye Greek
38r. and had rather Read things So wrote then otherwise / becaus the words generally have ye place of termes of art; such as phaenomenon, Stagnum (136), automaton, vis Impressa (137), & ye like; as also the Astronomers whose language can scarce be English. ffor what can be made in English of excentrick parallax (138), Mean anomaly (139), & ye like. But these men often overdoe, as wee may find In divers tractatuli (140) In the philosoficall transactions (141). Wee are Not so Nicely sensible of any thing as in ye

way of ordinary speech, the least Scruple beside y^e^ Comon track is discerned. And there is No Medium between a Necessity, or a very Considerable advantage by it, and the being very stark Naught & Impertinent. Whoever speaks or writes, Should have No aim but to produce that w^ch^ is worthy, & to be clearly understood, & all with as little delay or trouble as is possible. there is No Respect shew'd In Sending one back a Sentence or two, while the Style Moves forewards, to Recollect what y^e^ person Should Mean or drive at. The language Should Move soft & Easy as westerne air, without occasion of suspence from obscurity, or diversion from the Matter, by any Novelty In y^e^ Style; but In limpid & Connate periods & Expressions, w^ch^ Shall Neither flirt Nor start, Nor make any rude or Strang Sounds. The best of Dress is that w^ch^ gives No
38v. occasion of Notice, Either from / Nicety or Negligence of y^e^ person, So that language w^ch^ Engages Most attention to y^e^ Matter, & least to y^e^ words is the best. This is proved by y^e^ practise of many Grandees in y^e^ world, to whom all language is so fastidious, that they Choos to Comand and take Messages by Signes, & for that End have men bred Mutes (142). and whatever our custome here is to babble It is the ordinary practis of Most forrein Nations to affirme, deny, and Express Many passions & sentiments, Even in Comon Conversation, by Meer signes. Action is More prompt then speech, I might Say prior In Nature, ffor Creatures understand one and other, & first of all Mankind, by their Actions, rather then Sounds. and it is less obnoxious to Error to doe, then to say. wee have less reason In o^r^selves to trust o^r^ words then actions, the former are Easily [Let] out of Joynt and seldome faile of being too long or too Short. I am sure in the Judgm^t^ of humane dealings, one Graine of action is More Significant of the truth of mens Intentions, then speeches & harrangues of greatest prolixity. I doe Not mean here any thing In y^e^ sphear of poetry, w^ch^ is a profest tricking with words; As in prose the sence & argument are y^e^ principall aim, and the wording but Instrumentall, so In poetry, fable & Jingling are
39r. y^e^ Cheif buissness / and the Morality as it happens. that May follow, a little More or less, or of this or that sort, but fancy & fiction rule y^e^ Roost. Utile Dulci (143) is a pompous Caracter, & the latter member of it, hath sufficient force Comonly applyed to advance it; but as for y^e^ other, Much Might be done, If the poets had it In them; I allow poetry, as well as bear-baiting may be used as a property to Serve turnes, & it is very well when Either of them is ffor good. And the plainest language also is Not seldome depraved to all manner of abuse. ffor there is very good Gramer In lys, as well as In truth. But these are not Matters I yet Intend to Medle with, &

therefore proceed, with the second Construction (144) of the opinion stated.

If the Tenacity of our Native Idioms be taken as Exclusive of all liberty of using forrein & apt Termes & phrases ffor Expressing things Not Expressible in our owne, I thinck I am sufficiently declared against it. The vertue lys In the discretion and Conduct, as avoiding the Necessity If it may be done, If not, using y^e^ liberty with good choice & propriety. And So y^e^ defect shall prove a Reinforcem^t^, and a sentence that Must have bin dull & obtuse Shall
39v. come off brisk & / pointed. Tully himself, as bold a translator as any, tho Not so happy as Some, boasted of Making tollerable Latin out of Good Greek, Seldome ventured to translate a terme of art, but Gave it as he found it, and If he substituted a latin word It was with an apology, for having None More apt (145). Subjects drawne or derived from the classick Authors Cannot be so well drest as In their Native Garb. As an Armenian merchant looks more Gracefully In his Asiatick habit, then If he were in a side-box dress; ffor wee know him to be of that Country. but If wee Mett a knowne Englishman in Such a Gallimaufry dress, half Male & half female, he must Retire to bedlam or be hooted for an Ideot. If things are uncomon the words wee would Express them by, cannot be familiar to y^e^ Ear, but Either they must be assumed or Made. the latter is the wors, becaus y^e^ Ear is So Nice as to bear any thing rather then an Extravagant jangle of sounds it is used to. W^ch^ happens when men will affect the Saxon Idioms upon Extraordinary occasions; that is compounding words to serve turnes, w^ch^ is a Noble practis where Custome allows it, but Intollerable when it doth Not. The puritanicall Style in preaching & praying useth to abound in such
40r. figures & / to them wee Referr for a world of barbarous Examples. the true reason why Innovations of this sort will Not be Endeav^rd^, and any thing taken from the classicks will not onely pass Muster, but bear a sort of Repute is: that y^e^ former is knowne to few, but the latter to Most, & Especially profest scollars, to whom it is all familiar. I doe In No Sort comend a pybald Style, larded with Scrapps. It is a pedantry I have enough spoke against. but yet when the language that is the vehicle of a mans thoughts, is too Narrow to Receiv them, it is lawfull to take another that will doe it. The orator last Mentioned is very apt to Express himself in Greek, Especially in his Epistles (146). w^ch^ he wrote with a freedome that style demands, & Could Not often so well let goe a thought in his Native latine. But in this proceeding, it is to be Considered to whom you direct, ffor If it be to such as know no More then their Mother Tongue, there is No Going beyond it, on any acc^o^. thus

Men Err that preaching in Country Churches cite hebrew & Greek. But Respecting the generality of men who are more or less addicted to books, and are courted under y^{e} title of Gentle Readers, wee May Supose them to be Masters of So Much Scollarship & language as to warrant a. free use of the classicks on occasion, & the More polite European tongues, to keep out defects, If wee are so puzled in o^{r} owne!

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

19v. of pleasure and pain (147)

There is nothing of More Constant Concerne to us then these opposite passions, and Nothing less Inquired Into, I mean for discovery of the reall foundation or principle of them in our Natures. Many have treated of the passions as love, Envy, greif etc. (148) Wch are but branches from these comon stock's, and those have Escaped Scrutiny (149). What is it to know that love is an opinion that a thing is pleasant with particular Regard to orselves, unless wee know somewhat more then by practise what pleasure is; And thus, In Short, all the Science of temporall good and Evil is Resolved Into ye generall Notions of pleasure and pain, and If ye truth of them could be dugg up, and viewed, It would Not be hard to determine of the philosofers Summum bonum. I have Ever thought ye Inquiry so Important, to Such as are curious In ye philosfy of life and sence, that, as an Incouragemt to others to sink deeper, I have reduced into ye following order my thoughts upon the Subject, and to Say truth, they have bin So Importune with me, that I have not had Eas till I had reduced them into wrighting, altho at ye same time I have No better opinion of ye process, then as a means to Evacuate a Caprice, or Itch of Scribling.

I begin therefore with ye Consideration of two originall notions wee have concerning orselves.

1. of our being that wee are.

2. of our condition, how wee are. /

20r. 1. Knowing that wee are, is pure perceiving, for If wee were Not (as Cartesius argues) wee could Not perceiv (150); and this is the most clear & pure as well as Indubitable notion that wee have, or can Resolve upon. And it is what is present with us upon Every Instance or act of Sensation. This perception of our owne being, I fix upon, as the Center of all ye pleasure our nature is Capable of. It will be granted that it is better to be, then to have no being; some have held it better to be Miserable, then Not to be att all (151); wch is farther then I need to travell. It is Enough if it be good to be. If so, then the sence or perception of our owne being Must be pleasant, becaus it argues possession of a good thing. Those that have held the cheif good, or pleasure to Consist in Indolence (152), doe Not consider the difference between a being that hath No sence of it self, and one that hath. a stone is an Indolent being but not sensible of it, and knows no good by it. a being that perceives it self, hath More then the Stone, Indolence, ffor the very knowledg of its being is a fruition wch is a positive sence of good, & goeth far

beyond Indolence. It cannot be alledged, that our very being is painefull, and the pleasure wee have, proceeds from ye circumstances of life, so as paine is ye positive, and pleasure accidentall. ffor If a being is painefull, it must Imply defect, or an Essence Imperfect, wch cannot be; If wee have a being, It is compleatly So, & Not half or 3. quarters of it; therefore our very perception that wee are, must be a pleasure. /

20v. If wee consider well what sence is, wee shall find it is Not of the things perceived, but by the means or action of them wee perceiv our owne being and that is it wch makes objects of sence, Memorialls, and thincking very pleasant, for all that while wee are Sensible of our Essence. wee may Imagin yt angells, or spirits, Such as are Not affixt to body, may have an Intuitive knowledg of themselves, without Externall helps. but our Condition is Such as renders us unable to know our selves but by ye act of perception occasioned by Externall objects. And from hence wee translate (as ye Comon Mistake is) that wch resides In us to ye object. and argue thus, upon ye Sence of this object, I feel a pleasure, therefore ye object is pleasant, or More particularly, upon presenting ye Object (153), I see a glorious scarlat, therefore that Scarlat is In ye object, wch Inference is fals. ffor the object is ye occasion of the Idea our mind hath, but that is within us, & Not in ye object. And it is but the sence of our owne Existence wch wee have, diversified according as objects are Circumstanced wch are the means or occasion of it. All wch as I sayd (154), is done by moving the organs, & ordering chang of position In ye Sensorium, conveyed to ye Mind by Intervening subtile matter, obnoxious to ye power both of Mind & body.

Now considering that this perception of orselves is Modifyed by ye objects yt Caus it, and with them I must concerne ye state of ye body, thro wch sensations being conveyed, the temper & Complexion of it may vary the mode of sensations, as well as diversifying ye object (155). so Jaundice makes men See yellow (156). /

21r. If there be variety In the modes of our sence, when by it wee know & feel our Existence, there will be better and wors, and degrees of both; wch once for All I may denominate pleasure and pain, Meaning onely that sensations are made by Movements of body, wch gives a perception of our being with Some advantage, or disadvantage, and accordingly ye Mind is better or wors, as I may say, pleased.

The Mind is an ambitious being, and wee May suppose it pleased or displeased as its State appears better or wors upon any sensation. and therefore It may be Concluded that there is a designe of ye

Mind to be gratified as well as y^e^ body to be nourished. I Call it designe, tho It May be More properly Sayd tendency, or propens, without other Impuls then its owne Nature to drive it, and all things w^ch^ Gratifie this tendency, must be pleasant and what is avers, painefull. therefore wee must look Into as well y^e^ State of our bodys as the conditions of objects whereby sensations are diversify-ed, to see how those varietys can affect or gratifie y^e^ Mind, or otherwise give it paine.

The varieties of Sensations, Respecting pleasure and paine, may be determined in y^e^ Mind wholly, or Els In y^e^ body. If in y^e^ body, Either Respecting appetites, or diversion. Those which determine [in], or are Caracterised In y^e^ Mind, and rise to a pleasure, are y^e^ most Exquisite. and of them take the following account.

Since it is So that perceiving our owne Existence is a joy or
21v. pleasure, and this coming from Extemal / objects, Such as have most frequency or variety are Most pleasant, becaus wee are So much More Sensible of our being. seco[nd]ly Such as are most distinct and clear to y^e^ Mind, must needs Content it, More then others, that are Confused and obscure. ffor this reason knowledg is a pleasure, and the desire of it Curiosity also; and on y^e^ Contrary doubdt, or falsity are both troublesome, and therefore painefull. Then In the body all sensations which hold not a just proportion with y^e^ Nerve or strength of y^e^ body are painefull. as the light of y^e^ Sun at Noon, Enorm and tremendous sounds & y^e^ like. ffor those are convulsive at y^e^ Sensorium & y^e^ Subtile matter, and Make it unfitt ffor the action y^e^ Mind Requires of it, or Move it against the disposition of y^e^ Mind or will. which is that wee call actuall paine, and (when Excessive) Shall from the Sensorium disturb y^e^ whole body, & rais convulsions and Contorsions and crys, w^ch^ are y^e^ ordinary Symptomes of paine. It is comonly Sayd that whatever tends to a dissolution of y^e^ frame of Nature in animall bodys, is painefull. It is generally so, but Not allwais, Nor doth that observation Insinuate y^e^ Caus. ffor wee may observe that Exquisite torments are Inflicted at y^e^ very Nailes or fingers Ends. w^ch^ Cutt off, doth Not Make any Impression Imediately tending to dissolve y^e^ fabrick, till Gangreen comes for want of cure. and on y^e^ other
22r. side, men are Stabbed to y^e^ heart / And In few Minutes dye, but In y^e^ Interim Express No sence of Exquisite paine. Men broke on y^e^ wheel (157), have Complained onely of Cold, others In y^e^ case of the Tarpeian Rock (158), have complained onely of Drought. whereby the consequence as to dissolution or Not gives Not y^e^ Measure of paine; but the Importune vellication of y^e^ sensorium, w^ch^ putts y^e^ mind aside ffrom its buissness and attention there, and

this allwais happens when sensations are too violent; but If they Are from parts unused to be touched in a certein Manner, are Importune and partly pleasant, but Continuing, painefull, as tickling. And when ye Extremitys or Most Energetick of ye Nerves are touched, and violently: the Importunity & disturbance at ye Sensorium is very much, and this is ye ordinary actuall pain wee feel, such as pricking & wounds in ye flesh, Especially by ye vegetation of ye parts, when ye cours of humours is stopt, swellings, and often corruption follows wch draws the Nerves as outward violence doth, and Impresseth ye sence of paine. And So Many Infelicitys are ye lott of human bodys, from defects and diseases, that It is hard to say that wee are at any time free from bodily paine. ffor at best wee are Restless and unquiet Ever changing posture & waiting for better.

This Condition creates that pleasure, called diversion; ffor thick and various sensations are pleasant, not onely as filling us with a sence of our being, but as they take ye attention of ye mind ffrom bodily paines or thoughts, that are Not Excessively tormenting. /

22v. I Need Not run over a catalogue of diversions to prove this, wch is so Notorious, So I leav it to ye Consideration of Every one, as Enough acquainted with them, So Much as to Impute all Monsters, Shews, chases, Games & ye like more to ffilling of time, then any vertue or perfection In them, to Render them aggreable. If there be found any part wch looks like knowledg gathered as well as time spent (for things will have Mixtures) I must Reserve it to be considered anon.

The next class of pleasures I may Referr to appetite, but taking that to peices It will be found to Resolve Much into ye other branches touched upon, viz.t Diversion and knowledge. There seems to be Somewhat actuall and very Engaging in certain pleasures derived from regular objects, as musick, mixt colours, and (perhaps) tast. I shall consigne these to the Class of Knowledge, and dismiss them at prsent. there are others wch I may Style onerations, and Exonerations under wch titles Mr. Hobbs is pleased to dignifye all pleasure (159). As to these, one Consideration goeth a great way in ye Resolving them that is Remedy of defect. ffor Nutriment, to begin, hath upon ye first tast a vertue to Recruit ye brain and its active Spirits, wch Renders them more ductile to ye porposes of ye Mind. This is Notorious In high Cordiall wch stays not for digestions, as Grosser Nutriment doth, but Is at ye Center of life Immediately. Nay often No drop Ever comes at ye Stomack, and yet

23r. Invigorates a dying person. this Is In some Degree / upon ye tast or even ye Smell of proper Nutryment. Most Creatures distinguish

only by smell, and if that test answers, Eat without further deliberation. Men have used themselves to criticize by tast & sight as well as Smell, wch is the product of Experience in luxury. And while the Mind finds its seat & action made Easy, It must needs have satisfaction, that is be pleased; as for Improvemt of tast by Cookery and Confectionary, by wch much is added to the foregoing acceptance, I must consigne somewhat to knowledg, as In due place. But In ye Mean time affirme that the ackme of these pleasures is Not from things altogether, but very Much from opinion & prjudice, or Els from Custome. wee find with us strang aversions to things odd & New, as froggs, snails etc. wch in Many climes are ordinary or rather delicious food. The force of Custome In Matters of appetite & pleasure, becaus universsall, I may Consider in due place. It is Enough here, that Naturall appetites Gratifyed, have Immediate and cordiall Effect In ye intimate Recess of the body where ye Mind Resides. But that Nutryment ordinarily hath any Native or Ingenit vertue that makes it pleasant, beyond that Efficacy, I deny. ffor when ye vessells are filled, and ye brain Comforted, as farr as that can, then ye best food is loathsome, wch Could Not be, If ye vertue lay in that & Not In our defect of it to supply (160). This Is found In Satietys by Repletion, and ye opinion as well as Relish is changed, for it seems to Reject 'em for Ever. /

23v. So Much for oneration; all Instances have their opposite, as this hath disoneration, of wch their [sic] is a plainer acco, ffor the want of them Induceth paine; as when the secretions are perfected, and the unfitt matter Collected to be thrown off. In Case the Issue of it be hindered, there is caus Enough to distrust ye nerves and Consequently the sensorium and the sensible matter there, rendring them unffitt ffor ye porposes of life as well as of ye Mind, all wch is seen In Extremitys as of Costiveness, suppressions, obstructions, agt wch If ye body hath Not Eas & Remedy, the whole frame is dissolved. And one difference there is in all Sensuall cases between the pleasure & pain yt Men have & that wee suppose other animalls have. ffor men's knowledg of them selves and their occasions, advantages or defects, makes their resentmts more Exquisite, wch is from Memory. and may be Considered under that head, and here [we will] look upon Nude sensations onely as Comon to men & brutes; And of these ye most remarkable, In ye way of Exonaration is venery; wch deserves most attentive Reflections.

By ye fabrick of ye parts Relating to that action of Nature, It is observable that the matter wch charges ye body, & is so urgent to Explode, is Not ffitt but after most particular methods of digestion. It is doubtful whither ye digestion In ye brain it self, be more

24r. Exquisite then that; so that there is somewhat of / subtilety or Spirituousness of ye resulting matter more from that then other Instances of digestion. Another thing is that there may be channells of Comunication between ye very sensorium & ye parts where that Resides and who can tell, but Even ye subtile matter, wch I suppose to be ye Immediate Instrument or ye Mind, may have Some union or Continuanc[e] with it. wee have many arguments of guess for this, but Anatomy will never disclose ye Mechanisme of one Sort More then It hath done of ye other. ffor when animalls are adult, there is a most manifest vigor of body, wch upon this Evacuation sinks Even to dejection, and Recruits againe ffrom Nutryment, untill the Evacuation is Repeated; so alternately till age makes all things as well as this power decay but more or less It lasts as long as life & health continue. And after all ye quantity of ye substance discharged, doth Not Merit all this bustle. Besides the mind is No less engaged then ye body, all wch considerations are so obvious I need Not Inlarg, but Conclude ye Mind is More Immediately Engaged In this action then any other apperteining to life. Then It is No wonder, since it is ye occasion of Nature to Effect such discharg, and is so allyed to the mind (161), that not onely ye act it self, but all approaches to it, are So aggreeable. Nay ye Image of those approaches remaining In memory, without the reality, shall have ye Same Effect upon ye parts to produce it, as ye Reality hath. /

29r. But Now after this digression, to Resume ye former thred wch Is to declare, the pleasure & pain that Results from knowledg, and to disclose the very root of it. I must Remember I touched so farr, as to Say that knowledg was pleasant, being a frequency and variety of distinguished Impressions, becaus they filled ye Mind with the sence of its owne being more, then common & ordinary objects and of dayly & continuall recurs doe. or More closly; ffor ye same reason ye Mind delights in Sensations (wch is becaus those are a feeling of its owne Existence, rather then of ye object yt is but ye occasion) the More frequent and distinguisht those Sensations are, the More is the Mind delighted, ffor it is by So Much more sensible of its owne Existence. Then It ffollows that the more lucid and distinct the sensations are, the Greater ye pleasure. this I may call knowledg, ffor that consists in variety and clearness of thought. And by ye Way, I must borrow of a section Intended concerning Memory (162) so much as to prsume that In all yt I have hitherto discourst or May discours of Sensations, memorialls & Reflexions have ye same place, as originall Sensations have. To proceed: The opposite of this pleasure the Mind hath from knowledg, is a Con-

finem^{t} of the sences to y^{e} Same cours of objects, such as some of y^{e} poorest of mankind are bredd in, who are said to know Nothing but of y^{e} smoak of their cottage chimny: or when any object is Repeated to a satiety. but I Cannot Call this a positive pain, so much as a negation of pleasure, w^{ch} is the positive of the two.

29v. but In one Respect the / same force on our spirits as If it were positive too, and that is Comparison. ffor to Such as know No better the Comon varietys of clouds, Grass, trees, flowers & stones, w^{ch} they for want of greater variety attend too. as also y^{e} alternations of light & darknes, Cold & Warmth, hunger & food, toyl & Rest, w^{ch} are comon to all, are Sufficient variety to Imploy y^{e} sence, & Gratifying y^{e} Mind with y^{e} perception of its Existence. therefore In this Respect one May Say all y^{e} Sane & veget part of Mankind are in truth Equally happy; and that difference y^{t} is, Moves onely in our conceipts by Comparing our selves one with another, and is Not In things themselves. But when one hath found that there is such variety, as cittys, courts, feasts, structures, chases, books, History, philosofy, kingdomes, climates, arts, merchandises, battells, & what Not w^{ch} y^{e} bussy world courteth, and finds the Impressions of these Noveltys so Much more vivid & Efficacious then plain clouds, trees & hills; He will Not stay at home but goeth Hunting after them, Insatiably as to Novelty and variety.

Now y^{e} use of things In humane life Makes us distinguish of the composition, End, and use of them, and to Say will it doe Me Good or Hurt? what is it made of? & y^{e} like. this In Consequence call y^{e} passions up, as hope, fear, desire, &C. w^{ch} passions are all lively touches upon our Minds and as Efficacious to Imprint a sence

30r. of our being as the Most Considerable object / of meer sence. therefore doubdt y^{t} is Ignorance must needs be a pain, becaus y^{e} passions are undermined, and perhaps that y^{t} is Most painefull fear, Succeeds. And upon this account knowledg is a pleasure, and Ignorance, when y^{e} Mind is arrect to know, Is a paine.

There are a Sort of objects In y^{e} World, and very frequent in our way, w^{ch} are Compounded of Many distinct parts, w^{ch} understood Might afford variety of Sensations; but when the parts are discerned, but Not understood or Comprehended, there is doubdt of them and consequently paine. This distinction of perceiving and understanding or Comprehending, I Illustrate by y^{e} Case of Numbers or Geometrick figures. If there be 1000 spotts on white paper, y^{e} Mind perceives y^{e} Spotts, but knows Not the State or habitude of them, so as to Compare one parcell with another, or another paper So spotted. but If it have 2. 4. 5. or but a few More Spotts, as upon Cards of Game, the Mind hath a figure by w^{ch} it knows them, and

by y^e^ act of telling, add to the figure they make, a Number of units Conteined. The caus of this defect, & y^e^ Remedys I may propose In a section of humane Capacity (163). but lett Me Suppose These spotts so plac't as from Regularity or uniformity the Eye or y^e^ Mind Gathers & Reteins a figure or Image of y^e^ whole, by w^ch^ It can Retein & know it againe. the Curiosity or pasion is Gratified In Some Measure. but when there is No order among them, and
30v. Each / spott with y^e^ adjacent have Such Numerous different habitudes that y^e^ Mind cannot Contein, as It doth when it can say, this is y^e^ Same as, or like that, they are strait, round or y^e^ like, y^e^ object hath onely y^e^ ordinary force upon y^e^ Mind to feed it with a little variety, but Not that Efficacity, as If a Comprehension of the habitudes also were joyned with it, Especially when Relating to y^e^ uses of life, for y^e^ Reasons Given. one Sees a Geometricall tryangle, and is pleased, as at a Comon object whose parts are distinct (I may say more then at y^e^ sight of a Multangular figure), but he that knows also that y^e^ 3.ang = 2.Right (164) with y^e^ rest of its propertys, hath much more pleasure, becaus upon one object p^r^sented many Important ones secretly obtrude to ffill and delight y^e^ Mind.

Therefore it May goe for a setled Maxime, that knowledg is a pleasure, and doubdt, or Sensible Ignorance a great pain. Nor doth admiration as Some thinck help out y^e^ latter, ffor there is Small Joy In admiring wee know Not what, whether it Comes for our joy or Confusion. but when things are understood & comprehended, then y^e^ admiration of y^e^ Immensity or power of them, is a sublime joy of y^e^ Mind. of this Nature is astronomy. It is Granted that y^e^ Sun with its day, & y^e^ Night with its planets & Starrs, are Glorious objects to Refresh, & delight y^e^ Mind, and Such as from Ignorance of them Ever did provoke Idolatry; but to a philosofer, y^t^ Con-
31r. siders the Imensity / of their walks, & their Grandure, with the order of their courses, the reason of their phaenomena and y^e^ other heavenly Notions of the universall Systeme Now made Indubitable to the philosofick Wo[rld], hath Incomparably More pleasure then the bare objects afford. And If it Should be brought about that a right thincking philosofer Should be reduced to a rustick Ignorance of all things, and yet be convinced so Much was knowable, but be violently kept from it, however Easy or plain Man is under that Ignorance, he would be Most Impatient & Restless, and esteem his condition Most Miserable, & so live in actuall paine.

Upon this foot it is that all order & symmetry are pleasant, and disorder & confusion an offence, w^ch^ I Instance In two things 1. building & Gardens 2. Musick.

1. As to building (165) It will be admitted that whatever appears usefull, will pleas y^e^ Mind; and Such is Strength, proper abbuttments, Sufficiency & No superabundance, of any thing. ffor all those things are sought where they ought to be, and If y^e^ Contrary be found y^e^ object is offensive to y^e^ Mind, as a dissappointm^t^. this is that w^ch^ Governes the demensions of columnes, y^e^ superstructures, y^e^ [pier] apertures, rising In y^e^ midle, and Equally Sinking lower on Either side, & y^e^ like, comon decorums of fabricks. but More then this, If the parts are so placed as Not to have Symetry, Equality, or order, as here a Columne there None, here a larg
31v. aperture, there a Small one & so / all things unequall & Confused, y^e^ Mind is in a Sort of doubdt & paine, Not knowing y^e^ Meaning of any part, and wee Instantly say it is ugly. Wee know more of an uniforme peice, as In y^e^ Spotts on y^e^ paper, then of one confused, for of the former wee can say, alike, Equall, level, strait & y^e^ like. w^ch^ Retrencheth y^e^ Number of particulars & digests them, Into a Compass apt to be Comprehended, w^ch^ In Confusion cannot be. And therefore, as Elsewhere I have More largly held forth (166), beauty Is Not in Nature for Naturally all things are y^e^ Same, but lys In the Circumstances of our capacity and is determined by y^e^ Eas or pain wee have to understand them.

So for Gardens, and walks. trees & plants out of order are an aggreable variety, but when wee can take up in our conception & memory, the figures they compose, those Conceptions are an Increas of the Sensations Such objects afford; and one can say strait, Equall, uniforme, & y^e^ like, w^ch^ are all objects superInduced on Nature, by y^e^ order & disposition of them. and Surely None can say it is y^e^ Same thing to them, when they see a comon landscape, and when a curious city with its Gardens, Rivers &c. as for Instance Coopers Hill is a good prospect, but Greenwich better, ffor It hath y^e^ park, y^e^ citty, y^e^ River and y^e^ Navigation; and as y^e^ latter gives y^e^ Soul More touches So Much more plesant it is (167). I know a late knight In his discours of gardens, observes a designed Irregular-
32r. ity In Gardens In China, y^t^ Exceeds all our / Regularitys (168). with his peace be it spoken, that designe he Mentions, spoyles y^e^ observation, as to our porpose, ffor I must suppose things plac't so as to make them conspicuous, and that however odd & Extraordinary by filling y^e^ Sence with distinct Impressions must be pleasant. but yet, If wee supposed Even there So Much of art superadded, as should give a comprehension of y^e^ designe as well as y^e^ object, that would Increas the pleasure.

I Must here lastly observe, that all prospect is pleasant, Nay Every Moment of sight, how plain so ever the object is, is a pleasure,

but when wee come to Exaltations whereby comon things are layd aside as Insipid, they have their vertue from knowledg, and their fault or pain, from obscurity.

2. Musick is another Means of pleasure to sence, and depends wholly upon Regularity. a single sound is like a plain object of sight, carrying No more then a single sensation, whereby wee perceiv our being. but when sounds come to be Compound, and, (as wee thinck) Continued then is the Exaltation wch so Much Engageth or attention. I Shall first take sound, as it is Repeated by sensible Intervalls, and when ye Intervalls are Not distinguishable. wee know well what time in Musick is, and how Much it is varyed, as by dupla, tripla, swift & Slow alternating, for making a Notoriety, or rather the variety to be sensible; and that the Excellence of Musick depends much upon the conduct of this Regular Measure of the sounds and
32v. the changes of them. / The reason is by whats past wee know whats to come, & so Injoy it, till Novelty comes to be welcome, & then by ye skill of ye artist ye Modes chang, but still regular, tho of another sort, so as wee are not wildered & confused, as when changes come too fast. wee know also, that the musick continuing ye Same by Repetitions & Retornellos, is More pleasant then when without them. one reason whereof is that ye Mind will have some time to Comprehend things, and If they come, and are Gone, ye Mind is Not So well Contented, as when sometimes Repeated by wch the matter is better Comprehended. I doe Not know any thing better Explaines all this theory, then the Instances of the clapping of doors, and the dropping of water, or Motion of a bell or clock. the first is most Insufferably offensive, and is wholly from the Irregularity of ye pulses it makes. ffor being guided by ye Inconstant wind: it comes Either sooner, or later then wee Expect;whereby ye Mind is held in suspense & allwais dissappointed, so must needs be painfull. but If it it went and came at certein periods, so as the mind could Calculate ye time, & Not be disappointed of ye stroke, It would, perhaps be rather aggreable then Such a Nusance as it is Comonly accounted. on ye other side, the droping of water, or swings of a clock, wch are Isocronous, doe rather pleas and lull asleep, then disgust any one, and ffrom reasons Enought [sic] toucht upon to Need Repetition. /

33r. I might here Enter upon a Nicer anatomy of visibles and Sounds, shewing that many Indistinguishible objects Such as Mixt Colours, and harmony, wch wee know to be composed of parts In Regular Manner, but Not to be distinguisht by our organs; Have In Sume a like, tho Not ye very same Influence upon or Minds, as to ye delight or pain of them, as when the distinctions as well as the

compounds are perceived; but it trenches on another subject I am about Examining humane Capacity (169). but In fact It Must be taken for Granted that the beautyfull colours, Especially Such as are Called changeable, are by Microscopes found to be Comixt In a regular way. So as In various postures, by Means of y^{e} texture Some are Exposed & others Covered; And that tones & harmony in Musick, are a Compound of Regularly comixt pulses, made Each In Equall time; but Neither Manifested by y^{e} organ, but discovered from art & Experiment. and yet these Indistinguishable Regularitys operate for pleasure or pain upon y^{e} Soul, as those Most distinguisht. the Caus of w^{ch} Must be Referred to y^{e} Regularity, and that to y^{e} comprehension or knowledg, tho wee doe Not perceiv or Reflect upon it. but It was necessary to take Notice of So much here, becaus I must Referr to y^{e} like caus ffor much of y^{e} pleasures wee have by tast's & touch. for there may be some Secret regularity In y^{e} Composition, w^{ch} wee cannot prove, as by colours & Sounds wee can, that Effects a more pleasing Sence, then simples doe, and may Solve all of that subject, w^{ch} will Not fall under y^{e} Consideration of oneration & disoneration. /

33v. To conclude then with an Epitome of all, all Sensations are pleasant, becaus by them wee know our being. consequently the more of that knowledg wee have, the More are wee pleased. And it is an advantage y^{t} y^{e} knowledg be clear, & Not Confused, therefore doubdt is a pain, & learning or discoverys pleasant; So also regularitys rather then disorder, and all things w^{ch} profit or relate to use, or Engage y^{e} passions, when for o^{r} Good pleasant, when otherwise y^{e} Contrary. so Eas of paine goes for pleasure. and this knowledg Condiscends to Minuteness past scrutiny of sence, as mixtures of lights & sounds. In short all pleasure lys In knowledg first, that wee are, 2^{dly} that wee are well.

BM, Add. MSS 32526

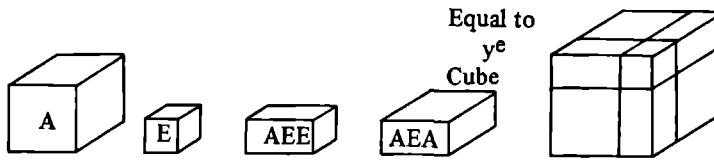
64v. Prface to a philosofick Essay.

Humane understanding is much vilifyed by the slowness of its process, as well as by ye difficulty of distinguishing In arguments of probability. the MatheMatick sciences are counted the tryumph of it. but to me those seem to have more of ye Mechanick then Judiciall faculty. ffor it is Not ye Judgmt but ye scales tells, yt weights are Equall, more or less. And Mathematicks are but Memoriall Counters, or a way of setting up (as wee say at cards) or Comparing in ye mind Numbers, of homogene quantitys. And becaus wee cannot forme a steddy Idea of unusuall numbers, as 100ds, 1000ds &c. wch Seldome or Never are prsented to us in a figure alwais ye same, as ∴ ⁝ ⁘ & the like upon cards, so as with one Intuit or Reflection of Mind, wee take ye Idea of a number, and of its operations with others In addition, subduction, devision &c. wee contrive to give Names, or marks, consisting of plaine & Memorable parts, whether 1. 10. 100. 1000 &c. a. aa. aaa. aaaa. or 1 x 10 x 10 x 10 or otherwise as wee see occasion. And according to ye Strength of one mans memory, Joyned with his application & practice of Such methods, is stronger then anothers, so his performances are wonder-

65r. full, and admired / as any thing rare, difficult, or disproportioned is admired. wee reptiles admire ye Solar System So vasly [sic] greater then our feilds & houses, and poring in Microscopes admire also ye minute things wee find there, out of no principle, but defect of humane Nature, (If I may So terme it) wch knowing litle is amazed at discoverys of things not Every day's observation. No Wonder then that a child who has learnt to tell ten, admires one yt can tell to 500,000. and a Comon arethmetitian or geometer admires an algebraiist, all wch differ not in thing, or faculty, but in More or less of the Exercise of it. And If wee could Suppose all ye world to be bent upon, & Intend or Encourage onely one thing, as Algebra for Example, men by sedulous plodding, would probably In process of time make Such farther discovery's of property & analogys In Numbers, or proportion's of quantity, as a modern algebraist should as Much admire as wee yt are but dablers, admire them. So that wee look upon these arts to partake of Mechanisme, such as an Artist useth, from Experience of ye Effect of his tools, & his Materiall, whereby he can tell almost In his mind, before he toucheth ye work, wt process, with what hazzards, & conduct (170) he is to bring it to Effect, and Shall work almost blindfold, better then a Novice with all his Eys & care. One yt knows 2 + 2 = 4. is Not Reputed a Sage, but If it be produc't to a Sursolid Equation

he is then a prodigy. /

65v. But that science wch ye ancients Called phisicks (171) & wee Naturall philosofy, is of a nature quite different and ye attainemt of truth, of a Nobler Caracter then ye other. This discovers ffrom fallible Sensations, the other from Infallible (supposed) quantity, and that wch the latter brings, is but some scattered peices wch put together, make knowne forme, onely done by ye memory & marks. as for Example



Ac + 3 AEE - 3 AEA + Ec = ye Cube of A + E (172)

Is ye Same thing, whither done In wood by a Joyner or In Memory or by Marks, by An algebraist. but the knowledg of ye laws of motion & consequently of Mechanicall powers, the Nothing-ness of Colours, the Nature of Metalls, salts, Sulfur &c. the magnitude of ye world; & ye Nature & cours of ye planets. etc. & Many other subjects wch carry not a demonstration, but probability almost Indubitable, and raised up by humane thought & Experience, mal-gree all the Errors & Illusions they are lyable too, is certeinly the greatest Effort of humane power, and cannot be brought out of ye dust of prjudice, without being tested thro Many ages of ye world. /

66r. And yet this science of Naturall philosofy is Now under disgrace & contempt, and Nothing applauded but Mathematics, & of that, the least Encumbred with Impedimts, algebra (173). ye Causes of wch Consider. Mathematicks are certein, but Not phisicks; ye former are demonstrated beyond cavil, ye latter cannot be So. This I grant & therefore have due value for ye Mathematick Sciences as most usefull in ye world who deal with measure & weights. but after all If wee should Suppose a man to be a perfect mathematitian, & to know nothing Els, he would be a great ignoramus. ffor things and measure are two. A man May know ye proportion between feet & Inches, & yet break his neck downe staires, If he be not acquainted with them. phisicks cannot be demonstrated beyond this, It May not happen so. ffor Events will Not fall under prvious demonstration. Repeted Experimts make probable, but doe Not prove. the Sun may Not rise tomorrow. and body falling may Not accelerate as others have done. but this way of proof by Reiterated Experiment, is Not that wch Mathematicks Call demonstration, becaus

it is a different subject, and is Not Capable to be So treated; but it hath an high or Soveraine probability, y^{t} onely a Captious, dis-Ingenuous sceptick will doubdt. And Is it Not a Nobler work of y^{e} Mind to gather Experiments that ffew [Re]gard, or if they doe apply (174), and so to disprove Comon Errors, & Erect Such truths, as are New to our Minds? /

66v. But yet Say they, this that is certain, is a braver science, then y^{e} Incertein, this wee can Rely on, and y^{e} other wee cannot; I deny that certeinty is y^{e} Measure of good I grant it is good to be sure, but to be sure of a trifle, is but a sorry reach of humane Industry. So farr as Mathematicks opens usefull knowledg, it is glorious, but so long as it doth but hunt out & Investigate inequalitys, majoritys, minoritys, without farther Effect, it is but a trifle. The 47th i.e. y^{e} famous proposition of 3 4.5 viz^{t}. 5.q. = 3q. + 4q or 9 + 16. = 25 is a glorious truth (175). ffor Carpenters & Gardners use it in y^{e} Setting out squares So Δ Cartes doctrine of curves, is a Noble scienc[e] for it leads to y^{e} Making Glasses for discovery of things hidd (176). but what Signifies Δ^{r} Wallis Calculate of y^{e} Center of Gravity (177)? & much other such Stuff? But All discovered by phisicks is good, & usefull Even to know that Insects Eye[s] are so Numerous; that they need not have organs to turne them, for their visuall space hath an Eye directed to almost Every point of it (178) But this is of y^{e} lowest order, the Generall Effects y^{t} governe all things, as Gravity, motion, & y^{e} like that are not off one but all things, are Equall in value, If not, as I Incline, Superior to any discovery in Mathematicks /

67r. Why then are phisicks so meanly thought off? and men are almost ashamed to appear in print concerning any such matter, but y^{e} Lectors in demonstration are Every day triumphant? Mr. Newton then whome y^{e} nation hath Not a finer Soul, can be glorious in his mathematick discoverys, but is ashamed of his phisicks (179) why all this?

for Many reasons

1. Arrogance, phisicks are made up of Conjecture[s] Some Stronger, Some weaker, and men cannot bear to be Exposed, when any fancy they Superinduce conjectures more probable, and where is Such a latude [sic]

2 Envy & spight, stirrs up men to cross contemne & villifie Each other, and to advance New opinions onely ffor sect & Not for truth, of w^{ch} Aristotle is y^{e} capitall Instance (180).

3. The fatall decadence of Many Great mens undertakings, & hypotheses, and the aptness to be over fond & to Mistake Nay where y^{e} Greatest Improvement^{ts} hath bin, there hath bin as great

failings and If a man be so happy to add Some truths, he Shall be So pleased with his hypothesis as to Impose it in all things, and others Shall be so malitious to twitch an author by his failings, & Not doe any right to him on account of his discoverys of this ye Noble Δ Cartes is an Example, who having Restored If not Invented
67v ye true Methods of philosofizing / and layd open Nature, ffor all men to Inspect & Examine, is twitcht by Every paltry writer as pardies becaus he hitt not ye mark Exactly in his laws of Motion (181) but did Not he discover that motion had lawꝰ then, Monsr hugens in his late posthumus peice, ffor making his vortixes conterminous, wch he would have disperst & apart (182) but did Not Δ Cartes Invent ye vortixes, wch will prvaile & be deemed ye vehicles of ye plannets wt Ever Mr Newton prtends to demonstrate to ye Contrary (183) Hath Not Δ Cartes found out ye Great secret of Gravity (184) wch is too Noble a discovery it Seems to be allowd him, but None prtends to Reforme it

I shall Not prosecute this Matter farther, but Come to ye acco of ye following papers (185), and ye occasion I find Sciences, in these latter printing ages, dwell with ye learned untill they are so purged & Refined, to bear a publik test, & then some kind Author hand them downe to ye Comon people, from wch time wee may date ye Establishmt of them, and If not then perfect In all circumstances, in ye main at least they are so, and it is a kindness to ye publick as well in those who deliver them Intelligibly to ye people, as that offer Emendations upon them, whereby the[y] grow continually up towards greater perfection, and of this Nature is ye prsent Essay /
68r The motion of ye Earth was managed by philosoficall men & astronomers a long time, untill Δr Wilkins world in the Moon (186), and ye french author du pluralite du Monde (187), have prsented ye people with a full cognizance of ye matter, and more Exquisitely Monsr Hugens in ye sd posthumous peice (188)

The principles of Naturall philosofy have bin Much agitated among learned men and at last they have taken up with Experimt as ye only Criterium of Invention, but are so well weary, or ye subject so high driven that it is almost at rest and then it is high time to Give it to ye world in English & plain language, ye french have done it some time Since, as Malbrance, but so aw'd with holy Church, as it wants ye freedome Such a designe Should have and besides he swells into Such Speculation as looseth the certeinty (189) I Intend a plan of ye same Sort, but Mor Restreined to phisicall probabilitys (190), how well it succeeds is a matter of my wish & care, but Not of my solicitude or Starr, for I wear a vail and wtever My Modesty is, I will Not be seen to blush

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

96r. A. Prjudice

It is Not amiss In ye first place, if possible to dislodg the comon Enimy of knowledg, prjudice. The Typhon (191) or dives (192) In the sphear of phisiology. By prjudices I mean opinions of things wch men take up accidentally, and then defend agt reason pertinaciously. wee may distinguish them as they possess Either the vulgar or learned part of mankind. the former are the Comon notions of sensible things Gathered in our Minority, Even as thoughtless fancy hath happened to suggest, or discours Insinuate. As that there May be Empty space, becaus they see vessells & Not the matter that fills them (193). That all beings wch thinck, must be capable of place, and sensible of time, becaus they know Nothing but from body, wch is the essence and measure of both (194). that Colours are as well in ye dark as in the light, becaus they see nothing but coloured, & cannot Imagine that things should alter by light shining or failing
96v. B. (195), that the Earth, buildings & trees stand / still, & the heavens move, becaus the Sun & starrs seem to rise, and Not the Horison rather fall. that the Earth Must be flatt and Not round; Els the antipodes would fall downe into the sky (196). And that there is attraction (197) and Sucking, as well as driving and thrusting. That bodys move by some active force in them, wch is Not in others that Rest (198). that somewhat comes from a light to our Eys, thro ye medium wch Makes us see it (199); and In short that all things are as they conceiv them to be. I must Confess, the art of Collating the reality of things with their appearances doth so litle concerne the affairs of humane life, that it is No wonder the Comon people attend what is Most Materiall to them & lett philosofy alone. they have Enough to learn when to sow, or how to direct their severall Imploymts to ye Most profit, to supply the needs of their familys. But there are others, who are not burryed in such cases, and doe Either
97r. C. out of / curiosity or by profession aim at knowledg, and particularly of Naturall things and for that End convers with Men and books as they hope best to be Informed. one would thinck that sort of men who are accounted scollars & vertuosi, should not Entertain opinions longer then the reasons of them were Integrall. and that Every proposition tending Either to test their former opinions, or to advance New and truer Notions of things, should be Most Greedily Embraced, and they ffor good reason chang (200) with an actuall joy rather then Reluctance at it. But the Contrary of this Is found by Experience; ffor such persons who less then ye other[s] are Incumbred with ye ordinary prjudices of youth and Rusticity

wch Makes naturall philosofy like faction, run in a channel, and wt tends to Impeach Earlyer opinions, Enters with Great difficulty; and If it chance that by long Continuance any opinions have taken
97v. D. root, they are scarce Ever Removed. / And ye prepossession is defended with prtence of reason, but reall passion and zeal, wth wch ye learned mobb fight agt new discoverys, as agt Invaders, and pro aris et focis (201).

This Enimy prjudice, is So considerable that I Esteem a depression of it No small advance In knowledg and one that hath made himself Impartiall is ye better half a philosofer. In matters unprjudic't a true resolve is readyer made then against prpossession the plainest detection of Error Enterteined. when ye place is void, truth from the familiarity and justness yt usually attends it, much more readily Enters then falsity, wch is ordinarily perplext, Intricate and troublesome. I beleev it Impossible for any man totally to discharg his prjudices, some are wholly confounded by them, and many are well disposed and endeavour to be free, & some gaine upon them more then others. but I doe pronounce that whoever doth Not strain with all ye force of his facultys to gett ye better off, & to depose
98r. E. them, is uncapable of benefiting by philosofick Studys. / This deseas of ye Mind Grows out of Self conceipt or Els Self Interest; the latter is a sort of knavery ffound in Scools, Colleges & combined societys of men, wch to correct is Not My prsent designe, tho I may touch that string by ye by; but the other is rather a weakness owing to frail humanity, and more hopefull to be wrought upon then ye other (of wch ye proverb holds None so blind as those who will Not see) (202). Therefore I Shall Apply my self cheifly to that. If Naturall philosofy were So attacht to the Caus of Religion & vertue, that one could Not be canvas't without disturbing ye other, I should Not wonder at mens shyness and opposition to all Innovation, but I take Naturall Knowledge to be most Independant & ffree, as mathematicks yt ar but a branch of it, & allowed in all latitude to mankind ffor exercitation of their facultys & judgmts, yt Els with ye Native Curiosity yt possesses them, and disposition to practis and Experiment, were wors then vain I mean meer snares. at least Such particular points of philosofy as have Made much stirr in ye world as about colours, Intentionall species In vision,
98v. F. the Motions of ye Earth & planets, & many others / of like latter Invention Doe not derogate from piety in ye least, But on ye Contrary, If My opinion hath any Graines as I have before declared it, philosofy is so farr from Impeaching, as to be a Main Support of Religion and vertue. ffor advancing wch the learned world of latter time have thought ffitt, and with Eminent Success, to argue (If I

may So Say) philosofically. who hath done more service to Religion in generall then these great laymen of y^e^ latter ages Cartesius & Mr. Boyle? But Suppose the case as I sayd to be but meerly Indifferent, or free, of w^ch^ I am most secure, Then the wonder is that meny should be so avers to Improvem^t^ In philosofy as they have appeared to be as In passion to Insult it like heresie, whence a stander by would wonder what Should make men Strive so about Nothing; This could Not be If disputes were onely for truth and Not victory. They apprehend the question to be more of Reputation then problem. their understandings, & the honour of Superiority is at stake, ffor if the old opinion is Not right, its professors and defenders are in y^e^ wrong, w^ch^ is a dangerous point & will be at stiff contention, as a consequence of the subject matter p^r^vailing one way or other. The scene of knowledg may chang, but Mens Sacred Regard to y^e^
99r. G. Reputation of their owne / understandings, will Never Relax. It is Not Novelty w^ch^ disposeth Grave Men to hold New philosofy aloof, ffor if Selfflattery did Not Create an hatred of Conviction, they would most propensly Slide Into opinions More reasonable, tho New. are Not Monsters, and Monstrous tales from India allwais welcome? It is becaus Such things Enter with Indemnity to their understandings. But If there be any Consequence tending to the deminution of superiors Either in Reputation, profit or authority, as when wiser men, & more active & vigorous rise up under them, then Great is the diana of y^e^ Ephesians (203).

But to goe on with Simple p^r^judices; it is the best way of undermining them, to shew In what Holes & Recesses they harbour, and If they can as vermin be drawne out & look't on, they are hideous Enough to creat an aversion. One Great harbour of p^r^judice is the generall Notion that is had of philosofy and philosofers, that they are to give an account of all things alike; ffor If they doe Not answer
99v. H. all Interrogatory's, with / Equall clearness, then the Reflection falls on the whole profession, & men may Conclude they know Nothing. And this is Exagerated by the vertuosi themselves, who are So Insatiably thirsting after knowledg, that they from an habit of thinking come to fancy they doe really know Every thing, and being used to a way of Expressing uncomon thoughts, In a sort of uncommon dialect, Never fail to answer Every Query Made to them and sometimes publish whole books in such a style whereby Neither they Nor any one Els understands any thing. Nothing makes Empty & Exotick words abound, like Error & Ignorance; ffor one sentence follows another, still Intending more clearness, but y^e^ whole proves absolute Confusion. Such were the books of the late lordch: Just. Hales, who understood y^e^ laws of y^e^ land better then y^e^ laws of

Nature, one was called y^e^ Non gravitation of fluids, y^e^ other deficiles Nugae, well writt to prove untruths to be true, as one would wish for Method & style, onely the whole of both harping upon fals matter is right downe Nonsence (204). Men that profess knowledg, Should take care first to be convinc't of their owne thoughts & test them by frequent Expressions In discours & wrighting, consider /
100r. I. them after divers Intervalls, & then strive to Express them, without affectation, and with all possible clearness so that who hears or reads them May have y^e^ Same Notion as they have. And then they May appear, and be acceptable, without offence or derision. what Can any Mortale conclude out of Dr. Mayos book of Nitro - Sul fureo - aeriall particles (205), and others of like Insignificancy. I Grant there is a language peculiar to philosofy, and it is a fault wholly to decline as it is to affect it. for phainomenon is Not Expressed by appearance, w^ch^ May as well referr to Sumons of Justice, as Naturall things, so In many like Instances, but a style affected of such, is Nauseous as also y^e^ other Extream; M^r^. farfax wrote of the bulk and selvedg of y^e^ worl[d] meaning, the Extent & limitts. he calls arithmetick tell-craft, and Impenetrability unthroroughfaresomeness [sic] (206). ffor he was Resolved Not to write greek or latin. I have observed that Interest writes with Most affectation, as phisitians; the author of y^e^ portable barometer (207), and the sympathetick Doctor (208), whose wrighting is Such Insensible jargon, as declares
100v. K. the Insincerity of the writers, & it is [a] pitty / Such Stuff should wear y^e^ p^r^tence of philosofy. There are Models of philosofick wrighting as Cartesius, Hobbs, Gassendi, Mersennus (209), Dr. Spratt &c. that are So clear & unaffected as to End all offers at directing a style otherwise then by proposing Imitation of them. I must observe that the generality Mistake much the Subject matter of philosofy, ffor some things they account So ordinary as to fall within y^e^ Reach of all Comon capacity's. as the phenomena of Every day's Notice, Motion, Rest, light, Colours &c. and they take it ill to be disturbed in their comon Notions of Such things. they will laugh, If you ask them why a boul runs after it is past from y^r^ hand. they say their hand gave it a force. So to affirme that rest hath as Much of force as Motion, that light is No reall Emanation from the luminous body; and there are No colours in the dark, is to be made a gazing-stock. and No less, for saying that body's doe Not fall from any Intrinsick force, but by being beaten downe by others that have More force to rise (210). But men thinck they see and feel Enough of these things throly to understand them without help of philos-
101r. L. ophy and whoever insists / on these or y^e^ like points, is treated as one that would perswade them out of their senses. And they thinck

a philosofer should know & Give them an acc.o why Grass is Green. why mares & cows have but one fetus, and sows & bitches So Many. why cherry's ripen In june, & Grapes in september. why one Sumer is wett, & another dry, & why watter wetts. and the like, In answer to wch I thinck an Exotick jargon of words without any signification well Enough Imployed. ffor how can Nonsence In a question be better fitted then with Insensible words for answer. The Mistake lys here, Generall things are the proper object of philosophy, Such as body, Motion, light, Sound, Gravity &c. becaus these are proved by the Inductive argument of frequent and Never failing Instances. But particular Instances of things, wch are Not Consequent of any Generall thesis, as the particular texture of the surface of this, or that body, wch is necessary to be knowne before the reason of its Colour can be discovered is so buryed in Minuteness as Not to be come at by any humane Means. But as by conceiving that Motion
101v. M. hath laws / & that they are So & so determined wee may declare ye caus of a particular action, wch is ye Subject of Mechanicks, so also we may discover from ye Nature of light, that the frame & texture of Surfaces occasion colours, wch chang as fire & Mixture changes them. of wch there is great & steddy proof In chimicall Experimts. but Still any particular Instance of a coloured body Cannot be resolved. Nor Indeed any case in ye world that depends on the Imperceptible texture or composition of bodys. but as to such Matters wee can from ye certeinty of some things settled by Experiment, declare a possibility of others, whose Minutiae are out of our reach and that's all. but this distinction men doe Not allow us, & Instead of Such candor, bestow contempt & Reflection, If wee doe Not Resolve Every Ignorant ill judged Question.

I account it an unhappyness, as well as a prjudice, that the most familiar objects, wch are really the proper subject of Naturall philosofy, doe Most & soonest Engage Mens fancy's, and then they thinck Nothing strang about them; but they are as well acquainted
102r. N. as they desire to be, and Esteem No More of / Secret In Such Matters, then they conceiv difficulty In their mother tongue; from whence moves this fallacious argument, I cannot Imagine it, therefore it cannot be. And this spreads among the learneder sort, who argue for and against things ffrom their power of conceiving them. as if the Existence powers & Modes of beings depended on our Imagination. for this reason time or duration must be declared to Exist Apart from body, and Space must be a fixt and absolute thing, tho all body be abstracted (211); that there May be perfect Emptyness (212), & divers other Notions of that sort (wch I Shall have occasion to dispute about) and these points are dogmatically held

forth, on No ground or reason but becaus wee conceiv, and to our thincking clearly, It cannot be otherwise. Nay that pervers crittiq Hobbs concluded there could be No Imateriall beings becaus he saw None & knew Not how any Could be, or being, act upon body (213); one would expect for such round opinions either some or many to back them or y^{t} y^{e} opposite was contradictious, but nothing of that appears. therefore at the Entrance Essaying thus in y^{e} way of philosofy I must Insist that things be Not reputed so facile & readily resolvable becaus they are comon & familiar with
102v. O. us. Nor that wee use the authority of our fancy ffor or / against any Matter proposed, but that wee abstract all our antecedent opinions and Even o^{r}selves (If possible) beleeving wee are Not, while we are deliberating what & how Naturall things are (214). and not Conclude positively but ffrom clear & Manifest truth of things w^{ch} must Necessarily Exist, & Not from our capacity of knowing Either Matter or Mode. And here wee must appeal to axioms of universall & Eternall truth, such as wee must agree too or abandon all p^{r}tence of reason or knowledg, such as that contradictions cannot be true, things Existent Continue, Ex Nihilo Nihil fit (215).& y^{e} like. w^{ch} doe Not belong to any particular Subject, but to all things in generall. those are our lights to guide us In particulars, from hence I May affirme In generall that Every proposition w^{ch} doth Not Imply contradiction or thwart some universall axiom is or May be true, as when I say that time without body is Not. this may be true for I am sure None can argue y^{e} Contrary but from any such axiom or Experiment. I can argue from y^{e} knowne [Idea] of time, w^{ch} is but various motions & this of bodys compared & Reduced to a comon measure or standard. Much More of this Subject I have To Say when I come to consider Indefinites, such as Extent, limits, densibility, space, time &c. (216). Therefore I waive farther disquisition of them here, altho the chief work is to
103r. P. beat downe p^{r}judices, that hold So hard upon them. / There is very Great difficulty In obteining a free cours of thincking about Magnitude & fforce. As to magnitude, wee are apt ffrom seeming Excesses of it, to Inferr consequences, w^{ch} doe Not In y^{e} least depend on it. as If it be considered In y^{e} way of Increas, and Much Surmounts our Corpuscle, wee bestow admiration rather then measure, and satisfye o^{r}selves with Epethites, as Immens, Enorme, & y^{e} like, and therefore fancy it Exempt from the Common laws of ordinary bodys. on y^{e} other side when it is considered In the way of deminution, wee are lost after o^{r} sight failes, & then are most apt to stop, as at a minimum. whilst In truth, Magnitude Makes No difference of things, Nor is it Indeed any thing but as comparison creates it. ffor were

there but one body in y^e^ world It were all one whither it were (as wee judge) Small or great, It hath all its parts so Infinite, & all the demensions. and for y^e^ Notion of More & less, it is Not, till somewhat comes to compare with it. And be that as it will as 1/2. 1/4. there May be the Same If wee should suppose with y^e^ vulgar, It were
103v. Q. bigger or less. therefore all that is true in generall / of any body is true of Every body until collation is Made with others, by w^ch^ Magnitude according to y^e^ habitudes of them is determined; So that as to body, More or less is Nothing, but Comparatively, and wee must In all disquisitions of body look for proportion and Not Magnitude. Then when litleness comes, wee are much disposed to charg Such bodys with Somewhat inept or Impracticable: as If they were not Imbued with their Share in the affairs of body, & Nothing Considerable Could Come from them. whereas wee ought to Conclude that the least and greatest (so speaking after usage) have their Energy In Every Respect according to the proportions betwixt them.

It is Most Certein Men Can Never aggre about magnitude, but by adjusting a Standard or comon measure. therefore the ordinary academick question whither wee perceiv the true Magnitude of things or Not is vain. ffor I may be bold to Say as before, that without Comparison there is No true magnitude, but all Magnitude is alike; observe I Say without Comparison, and If any Man can Make ought of Magnitude without [any] such efficient [he] Out-
104r. R. goes Me in thinking. / The comon Caracter of magnitude with us is from Comparison with our owne bodys, Such as Exceed us, are Great & others litle. therefore No two Men in y^e^ world Can perceive any thing Exactly to be of the same bigness, unless they were also just equall. and for that reason it is, that a man accounts a room Small w^ch^ when a child he thought great; becaus then it was 6. of his length's & Now but 3. for If the person grows, or the room deminisheth, the Result, proportion w^ch^ declares y^e^ magnitude, is y^e^ Same. besides No two Eys are in y^e^ same point or position, Nor the Refractions of any two Eys, no More then their persons Exactly Equall (217). all w^ch^ vary y^e^ opinion of Magnitude, So that upon the whole, all Conception of Magnitude w^ch^ is Not founded on proportion, y^t^ is comparison, is vaine & In order to Make a just conception of body, necessary to be waived. I Should willingly Recomend to all who are addicted to philosofick Studys that they habituate this in a practise of conforming magnitudes to the nature of their Speculations. as for Instance, In the Mundane Systeme. wee may Mentally deminish all the supposed familys of Sun's & their
104v. S. Retinue of planets Into as litle Compas as wee pleas / and withall

The common Curvature of magnitude with us
is from comparison with our owne Body &
such as round Hills, our Groves & Woods, &c.
Hence per Accidens two Men in the World can per-
ceive any thing Rondelly of the Sphaericall
kind, unless they see the same, for that
is it, that a Man accounts Round
Wch when in Clouds the Thought spread. Because
than it may be of his Length, & Wch but
for if the person grows, or the room dimi-
nishes the Roundness, is referred in
it selfe. Besides the two Eyes are in
same point. Nor the Reflections of any two
by the Heart than their Senses Equally spread
all over many Degrees in Magnitude, to that
upon that Circle, all Circles are Magnitudes
are Rightly founded and proportionall, in order to Make
a just Estimate of the Heavens.

I should willingly recommend to
to philosophick Readers, the Rabbins
in a Treatise of the Antipodes
of their Magnitudes, to
and Distances. as for Instance, In the Mundane
Systeme. wee may Manifestly demonstrate
the Immensity of Suns & their Retinue of
Planets into as little Compass of room as

Conserve their Supposed order & proportion, and after all Extend that Contracted Sceme by Similar addition to Infinite Space againe. So on y^e^ other side wee May In fancy Magnifie a small parcell of moss or Mouldyness, Into the condition of woods & forrests, So also a peice of file dust to be a Mountaine of curled horshair, or y^e^ like, so as it may be pervious to Many & Many other sorts of bodys & those still sub-pervious to others ad Infinitum. This way of thincking will bring Great Eas. In Reflecting on possibilitys and then arguing probabilitys, w^ch^ to one not accustomed to Such Mentall Exercises is a difficult undertaking. and this, wee may depend on, If, so as wee thinck, they are not yet our conceipts, May be true, for there is No Contradiction or absurdity Involved, Nor axiom thwarted. and by this practise one may greatly overcome humane frailty such as lys in y^e^ way of a philosofick caus, p^r^judice.

Another considerable branch of Comon p^r^judice is the ordinary Idea Men have of force. whereby they are disposed to Magnifie or Extenuate, after y^e^ dictates of fancy and ascribe positive vertues
105r. T. where Nature hath / None; and this is from y^e^ Same root as the other, that is measuring by our owne abilitys, and from thence Inscribe caracters. for Say wee what a prodigious force is weight when 40. Men Cannot mannage the bulk of one Man in lead. and what a Miracle is that in Explosion, when [X] ℔ Gunpowder Shall Carry a bomb of So vast weight So farr? Indeed there is this reason of the wonder here, that wee see & prove y^e^ weight, but the caus of the Explosion is hid from us. If wee knew the quantity of Matter that contributed to the action, wee should Not think [it] strang it Carryed y^e^ bomb. w^ch^ I may Endeavour to Make Intelligible In due place. Now there is No account of force but that w^ch^ Coincides with quantity of Substance, ffor In More or less of Substance, there is generally More or less of force. and therefore fforce is Reducible as quantity all Into Comparison and proportion. and, as (218) that admitts all degrees, and falls within y^e^ Sciences of Measuring, as Substance & its figures & demensions doe, w^ch^ we call mathematick. and all powers are More or less In degrees as they are opposed;
105v. V. for / one power w^ch^ is p^r^valent ag^t^ this, May Not be p^r^valent ag^t^ that opposition, and Nature hath No Standard of power, More then of Magnitude, so that take away opposition, that is Comparison there Rests Nothing to be called force or power. That w^ch^ ffills us with conceipts concerning force, is an Idea wee have of our owne Strength, of w^ch^ wee have No slight opinion, but thinck it is No Small Matter Can be too hard for us. Now If wee can lay aside this p^r^judice, Nothing of force can be strang, for then wee should say, Is that weight so strong? why is Not our strength rather weak?

ffor to a weak body, any weight seems More, then to a stronger and had wee Not Comon Measures, as pounds &c. wee could as litle agree about weight or force as about magnitudes; ffor y^e^ Same proportion it gives y^e^ Same Idea (219), be y^e^ weight litle or our strength Great. Its No Matter w^ch^ you Call litle & w^ch^ Great while they are alike distant asunder, and So as to Explosions w^ch^ are the Greatest force from Invisible Springs of any wee can find out or prove. Say Not the powder and its Explosion is strong, but that weight is weak. why Not that, as well as y^e^ other? by what
106r. W. authority doe wee give a positive / p^r^eminence, abstractedly stated, on y^e^ one Side rather then on y^e^ other. the Inconvenience of this sort of prejudice is, that wee Reject probable causes assigned, becaus wee Cannot bring o^r^Selves to be of opinion, It possible Such strang Effect could follow. As about Muscular Motion Gravity, & others, of w^ch^ In due place. but In y^e^ meantime let us Not say it is strang the action of Muscles Shall rais Such weights when wee may as well Say It is strang the weight Should not be raised with less. therefore on y^e^ whole, wee must Resolve to Submitt all force and power to be Ruled by quantity, and y^e^ laws of Motion, such as are found out and approved to be universall, and Conclude all things that consist with them possible, and Nothing Els.

Another branch of p^r^judice is an attachm^t^ to hypotheses, or a propension to Entertein Inventions ffor their aptitude, such were the ptolemaick cicles & Epicicles (220), w^ch^ according to discoverys of y^e^ age when those p^r^vailed, was Sufficient to Resolve & Calculate all the Motions of the planets. but In Regard from y^e^ fittness, it did Not follow that it was true; men might [have] Served themselves of the Systeme to Calculate by, but they should
106v. X. Not have So adhered as / the Scools (221) and Roman church men have done by setting up power & authority ag^t^ demonstration. phisicall learning, In Matters without y^e^ Survey of Imediate Sence Doth not demonstrate, [but] ffrom analogy or paralell reason, argue probabilitys or In plaine English guess, but that often So shrewdly as in many Instances to have credit little less then If demonstrated rigorously; but yet in Conjecturing Men Should Never Engage their Minds In any thing beyond Reserve, they may be very clear of opinion & yet Not be wedded to it but If future discoverys alter the State, their assent may goe along. This gives Me occasion to discours somewhat of the late sect of philosofers, who renounce all propositions, w^ch^ doe Not fall under Experiment or demonstration. first as to Experiment, I Grant it the foundation of all Naturall philosofy, w^ch^ hath No being, or progress, but upon the force of it. But If Experiments were of No use but In y^e^ very

items Experimented, there would be Small gaine by them. but as there is a latitude of arguing from one Experiment, wch is of a single Item, to others, upon analogys & paralell reasons, wee have all that wee know from them. as for Instance the laws of Motion, wch are so certein & Regular as wee find, and I am to Shew, wee owne 'em all to Experiment, but from some Items proved, wee argue Infinite others. But on ye other Side, I doe Not thinck that /
107r. Y. Nice and Subtile Experimts be absolutely Necessary to philosofy as Some account. But Instead of this It is a fashion, If one hypothesis fitts Some Instances of Nature Exquisetly well, It Must be driven to all.

To Conclude let Me observe M. Δ .cartes Noble process of Inventing truth thro doubdting (222), wch takes Not with Churchmen (who comonly Start at ye word doubdt) Is No other then an artfull way of laying aside prjudice; that is bringing the Mind to Such an Impartiality, that all former thoughts & Impressions whatever apart It is ffree to Entertein Such Notions as reason Suggests, and determined to admitt onely them, & No other. and Not onely ye prsent but all ages Must agree that this is the Most Important prliminary In and Indeed Necessary temper of philosofick Studys.

I Might give other Instances of prjudices wch with Many take place & hinder them from a just advancemt in a cours of philosofick truth, as Authors (223), hypothesis & Experimts. but It will be better to treat them Into distinct Essays then crowd all together
107v. Z. here. / It may be Noted for an ancient prjudicate way of philosofising, wch falls under the rule of Ignotum per Ignotius (224). If a question be of Something extraordinary, and somewhat very ordinary can be found out to paralell it with, it goes for a solution, tho perhaps the latter, however comon is the greater ridle of ye two. So In ye life of Esop for Instance, ye question was why ye Garden bore weeds rather then flowers, ansr, becaus to the flowers it is a step mother, but to ye weeds one naturall (225). this went for profound wisdome in Elder times; but what hath the vegetable Juices of ye Earth to doe with humane passions, or how comes a simile that Joynes Nothing to be a caus of anything. The being Satisfyed with Such Stuff as this is a great hindrance to knowledg.

And of this sort was the Enigmaticall philosofy of ye ancients, and Is Indeed the very Eldest philosofy wee have any acco of; This I conceiv began with prtence of profesy, wch, among the Nations, was Nought Els but Jargon's of bears, lyons, wolves & Such like, adapted to amase the Ignorance of those times. And such was then growne Into a Mode of learning and prtended to by all, tho the true guift of profesy ...

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117r. Pleasure of the Mind

[117r.](226) The comon opinion is, yt ye world Receives great advantage in ye way of more happy living, by knowledg, & Comerce; I can So litle agree to it, yt I thinck no particular man is happyer after any improvemt, then he was in his ignorance. in another place I have set downe wherein happyness consists (227). There I Call it pleasure, according to ye stile of ye world, tho in truth there is litle real pleasure, if any, and much less happiness in ye world. ye pleasure of ye mind, wch is ye subject here, is Either an opinion of prference, or diversion of ye thoughts from ye sence of vitall uneasiness. the former is ye same whether it be upon just grounds or not. and a fantastick conceited fool is as happy in his owne perswasion as a solid wise man yt understands himself. the reasons of opinion are not to be considered if ye opinion be such. for reason to Every man is grounded upon his prpossessions or principles, and those are ingrifted by ye accidents of Education, & life; wch are various in all men, and yt is ye source of ye disputes, & ye irreconcilableness of Rationation; the men yt are Educated together have a proximity of Reason wch strangers will not allow of. and it hath bin ye labour, & will be, by ye learned & judicious, as long as ye world lasts, to setle principles to be allowed of by all men; wch I fear proves labour in vaine, because men concerne themselves most with irrealitys, yt is things of wch wee have no certein & determinate knowledg, as wee have of quantity. /

118r. There wee have a measure to Reason upon, as none doubdts but

[119r.] one cubicall foot is Equall to 144 cubicall inches (228), because they doe really Exist; but who can determine with yt, or indeed any assurance in civil things, as whether a man in such an action were wise or not, or ye like; all wch sort of Reasoning must be remitted to ye opinions of those yt act, who move by Considerations yt perhaps cannot, at least are not, Exprest or made knowne, so as in them ye same action may be wise, wch to a man of more Experience, Shall be foolish; and yt difference had never appeared if ye wiser man had not bin borne; but it must be allowed wch I first hinted, yt when a man acts, he thincks he acts wisely, and injoys ye pleasure of yt opinion as strongly as any man wtsoever. As for ye other topick of diversion, I thinck it will not admitt of question, yt its force & use lieth wholly in taking ye mind from adverting to paine, & not in ye quallity of it, whether riding hunting, reading, Gaming, talking and Every thing Els wch is considered as diversion onely; and according to fancy, yt yt engageth mens minds

most is most pleasant to them.

on y^e^ other side y^e^ paine of y^e^ mind, w^ch^ proceeds from injury, mistakes, approaching want & y^e^ like, w^ch^ makes men abject, must be upon y^e^ same grounds measured by y^e^ mans opinion, & not y^e^ Reasons of other men; as all light is glorious till a greater appears, so Every man's Reason tho upon mistake, is cogent, till a stronger information convinceth him; /

119r. [118r.] Herein is y^e^ mistake of such as argue thus: if a madman thincks himself realy a soveraigne prince, and all y^t^ Come about him his subjects, his condition is as Envious as y^t^ of a true King. but no man will for y^t^ opinion wish himself madd; therfore y^e^ opinion of y^e^ world arbitrates felicity, and not particular fancy. the p^r^mises I take to be true Enough, y^t^ no man will wish himself madd, but y^e^ conclusion failes: for he y^t^ might put himself into a State to have y^e^ opinionative injoym^t^ of all y^e^ good things in y^e^ world, & doth Refuse it, is in as great a mistake as y^e^ madman; but it is other Considerations y^t^ leads us not to Envy mad folke. wee see the cold, hunger & stripes they Endure, y^e^ sad distraction of mind to be deposed from their Right of Governing, w^ch^ almost alwais accompanys such princely distraction. and y^e^ payne of y^t^ is greater, then y^e^ trouble of a private man y^t^ was not borne to governe, tho he has mind Enough to it;

So y^t^ I take it y^t^ all y^e^ pleasure of thincking hath its measure from y^e^ nature of those thoughts with Respect to y^e^ person onely, & not from any rule of witt, prudence, or y^e^ comon perswasion of men.

This p^r^sumed, it must be granted y^t^ he y^t^ hath thoughts y^t^ in their nature are such as conduce most to pleas us men, is y^e^ happiest, without considering whether they be foolish or grounded upon mistakes or not.

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120r. Reason

when Pilate asked what is Truth? he received no Answer and no wonder (229), for it was an impertinent question; if he had asked what is True? as when he Said, art thou a King? he was answered affirmatively (230). the word Truth (as all other Abstracts) hath no real Signification, nor is corresponded by any thing existent in the world. It hath a Logical Sence, and Serves to represent Mens Thoughts that use it but these thoughts without being applied to things now really or heretofore extant in the ⊙ (231) are in themselves nothing at all. As to Say this Sentence is true means Something to which the Thought is applied to and would be the Same if there was no Thought or Enunciation about it. But to Say Truth is divine means only a mode of Thought which is nothing; Therfore in discoursing of Things Supposed to be Some way or other Subsisting in the ⊙ abstract Terms Such as Truth wisdom policy, Virtue, Reason and the like are to be laid aside and the Language fall upon Realities, as this History is True, this Action wise, this Ordinance politick, this Resolution Virtuous or this Argument Reasonable or the like. This Consideration is So just that I dare Say no one useth Such Abstract Terms without having in his mind at the same Time Some realities on which he reflects.

But now to consider the Abuse of words, it was noted by an old Historian that omnis Etas habet Suas Veritates (232) which hints that in diverse Ages men will hold opinions not only different from but contradictory to each other, and what is more Senseles that meer words shall be taken for things and without any Signification really defined, pass in discours as Axiomata, and Serve in the quality of Principles to Sustain certain pretended demonstrations; and of these the most eminent is the word Reason: which at present I am disposed to canvas because the Abuse of it now in our Days is most flagrant (233). And in the ordinary disputes with the Theists or rather Atheists is of more pernitious Consequence, in which both Sides Seem to use the Language in Such a loose way, as renders the Subject undefined and needlessly obscure which under proper Terms and Distinctive would be clear enough.

The Root of this Inconvenience is a mistaken Distinction Some are pleased to make between Reason and Revelation, whereas in Truth both are reducible to rest upon one and the Same foundation, and Revelation is not a stronger Argument for Religion then (to speak in their Dialect) Reason is a proof of Revelation (234). They tell us that there is no need of Religion for Reason is Sufficient

to hold men to moral Duties and to preserve the Peace of the ⊙; the falsity of this will be exposed but in the mean time it is needfull to reduce the huffing Disposition of the adversarys who advance
120v. the prerogatives of their Idol Reason as if it were / no less than (quasi) a Divine Influx imprest upon the minds of all men and as a Sure guide Sufficient to determine them in all Cases of Good and Evil. and to tell them of any other Rule or Authority not agreeing with their Reason is to Preach out of Tom Thumb (235). This makes it necessary to take in pieces this (Blind) Infallible Guide, and to Shew how Men that Consider must understand, which I think may be done without derogating in the least from the Common Sense and understanding of men.

Reason must be referred either to the Faculties of Men or els to objects of Sense without them, if to the former it must be alike in all men, being they Say, Original Notions imprinted by Nature upon the Understanding of all Mortalls antecedent and Superior to all laws and Positive Precepts whatsoever (236). by which we are enlightned with moral Principles Such as Common charity, obedience to laws, to doe as we would be done unto and the like. And what is wanted more than these to render society perfect? But if this must be the Rule nothing is So various, incertain and for the most part false. There are few men if any that agree perfectly in any thing, not only particulars but whole Nations and Kingdoms have had not only different but contradictory notions of Duty, of which Instances are innumerable, and there is No Criterion whereby men may Sound each others opinions when they speak Truth or Lye, or when to Trust or not which is like to be a rare comon wealth.

Therefore Reason must refer to Subjects ab extra (237), and that induceth 2 Inquiries. 1. What is True or really existent in the Nature of things which are not variable or incertain but fixed and determined whether Reasoners have to do with them or not. 2. what may be the Events or Consequences of Such matters; and to these two Enquiries the office of Reasoning is confined. 1. for reducing Sensations to Truth (for that we do perceive is most certain, but what is most incertain) we have the Benefit of Experiment, that is of using diverse Senses or modes of Sensation to prove the Truth of any object (or as they Say) going round it, by which means Gold is distinguished from Gilt, and the like; which differences direct Sense would not discover, and Life itself is a Course of Experiment, the Result of which is called comon Sense, and I may as well term it reason; for So far as any man is taught with Such observations, So far he is a just Reasoner of the nature or Truth of

things, and wherein he is wanting he is obnoxious to mistakes and being Sensible of his defect may doubt, or Else be So fully informed that he accounts himself very Sure, and free from all manner of Dubitation, and by this means he hath a clear use of his Reason, that is by Experiment. 2. Having reduced all that can be called Reason in Men touching the Truth of things really existent to pure Experience, we next enquire of Events, or the alteration of things in the ⊙ which Subject will branch into many heads or Partitions,
121r. but it will appear / that all will stand upon the Same Foot, and that's the real truth of the matter perceived. I observe the chief distinction is 1rst of changes that are called natural which are chiefly motive, and 2dly Spontaneous, which depend upon Animal free will. 1rst we gather by Experience a knowledge of the properties and powers of body, whence proceeds the science of Mechanicks and that in Such universality and constancy as affixes our minds for certain Truth; that whatever is affirmed to have happened inconsistent with Mechanicks is either false or else affected by Some Power Superior, or distinct from Body. And any one Seeing such an Effect must conclude either a deceptio Visus (238), or the operation of Some Such Power, and if the former is purged by Sensible Examination the latter must volens nolens (239) take place. It is a certain Rule quod omne Grave tendit deorsum (240) and if any one observes an Anvil lying on the Ground and then to rise right up without Artifice applied, would not he conceive that it was done by means of Some incorporeal Power? It is the Same thing when with the Sound of a few words a man stone dead shall be raised to Life, or native Blindness cured, and all other miraculous effects produced. And it is plain that all Such Cases are not tested upon Reason, as it is commonly understood, but upon matter of Fact stated upon Experience, and as that is more or less perfect, so are the notions just or fallacious. and Such Conclusions are not Reasoning but pure Sensation. as when things in Position vary it is not Reason (in the Pretence of the Adversary) but actual Sense that declares it to be motion. The worst is when things are not, and cannot be Experimented, and then we fall to determine by Conjecture, and that (Say they) is the office of right Reason; I allow that Such proceeding is by Symptoms or Evidences, whether true or presumed, and those refer to things real and Sensible, be it in opinion or presumption, and no man by mere Reason can find the way to york.

We come next to things that depend upon Volition or the free-will of men or (as we may Suppose) of other Animals but I shall reflect only on the former. there we might make many partitions but

I Shall Select only two 1. Politicks 2. History. First to deal Singly and to consider the Case of Reasoning upon the Subject of one Person onely; it is proposed to discover whether his speeches be true and Sincere, or false and treacherous, and that is done by comparing them with his Actions, for it is found by Experience that where those differ, the person may not Safely be trusted; and other like Symptomes of Integrity or Perfidy in men may be found, and prove usefull in Politicks, but all are derived upon Sensibles and common Experience which the Adversary may charge upon Reason, tho they are but meer Perception either immediate or memorial. /

121v. Another material Enquiry is by what means or inducement a Mans Actions are directed. All the Masters of Ethicks Say to purchase Good to himself, or what he shall opine So to be. All which may be comprised in an ordinary expression, Self Interest. here we Seclude Actions that proceed from passion or Anger and the like, for under those Impulses a Man is not a free Agent, but we presume him to be compleat in his Senses. And then I challenge any one to Shew me any other inducement to incline any man to act one way or other but Self Interest. The high notions of Eternal transcendental characters of Good and Evil inured upon the minds of all Men born into the ⊙, which instruct them to act accordingly, unless depraved by the undue courses of Life, and prior and extra to all other Laws and Rules of Duty upon Earth whatsoever, are meer chimeras, and grounded upon no Reason Authority or Truth; and in common Practise we know that Profit Pleasure, Pride, Security and the like are all resolvable into Self Interest, and I may add with the greatest assurance that Religion itself is of all Interests the greatest, and that all moral Duties and Conservation of Justice and Peace in the ⊙ depend upon that, and upon no other Rule or Principle whatsoever; and Setting Religion aside, a man is weak that declines the most facinourous Actions to obtain Good to himself, if he may doe it impunely and free from worse Evils, Such as the laws inflict, Shame and to mention one instar omnium (241) Eternal Damnation. Is it not a Common Notion that mankind is governed by Reveng and Punishments, and are not those held forth and denounced in Religion more eminently than any temporary Concern can be? they that depreciate Religious obligation and Authority by Setting up Terra incognita (242) laws, or Rules of Morality against them, crying out moral principles are enough for us (well and good, if we knew where to find them) are Solemn underminers of all Property and Justice, as well as Peace upon Earth, and if the common people rightly understood them, they would be

pursued like mad dogs to a final destruction.

But are not the Men of Plenty and Superiority who by their Discours, merriment, and Encouragement of Atheistical attempts endeavour (quantum in illis) (243) to extinguish the Sense of Religious Dutys in the common people; it will be no wonder if insults of the many should happen to teach them better manners. The Fool in the Psalms had more wit who kept the Secret in his heart,
122r. 5. and did not like a changling Blabb it (244) / and if the famous Heathen Nomarchs as Lycurgus and Numa etc. found a disposition in the People to a Sense of Religion, and made use of it, to the purpose of their Republicks (245), it doth not follow that all those who for this 1700 years have urged upon the People moral Duties upon the principles of Xstianity have been and continue meer Tricksters, and yet be all along exposed to discovery.

But to return to our Subject which Relyes Reason wholly upon actual Experience, our last Enquiry is concerning History, to the credit or disbelief of which all Manner of Circumstances of Fact are conducing as the person of the Author (if known) and his character, the Symptoms of his design, the common opinion of his Veracity, the Conformity of Contemporary Accounts, the disinterestness of the Subject, and manner of Expression, with diverse other Evidences as may appear to vouch an historical work. These are comon places which I am not here to enlarg upon but only Subjoyn a short note, which is that Relation of strang Incidents not consonant with our Reason, that is our ordinary Experience, are not for that Cause to be rejected as false, unless they imply a Contradiction in Terms; as if a Caucasean Mountainier is told of a River in England that runs up hill and down hill upon the Same Ground every 12 hours, that agrees not with his Reason, altho it be true, and wants only a fuller Explanation, tho (perhaps) even that might not convince him (246). Therefore the Rule of Reason (as it is called but means Experience) is no certain Test of Historical Relations, but other Symptomes or Testimonies are to be appealed to. It is certain that the Credit of History admits of all degrees from being utterly rejected to an intire Assent. I Shall not Stay to compare any, but fall directly upon that of the Xstian Religion, which we call the Gospell, and that is So far v[e]rified that as a worthy Author against the deists hath proved, that it is impossible it Should not be true, for the 4 Criteria Manifestly attending never met, nor cannot meet in a falsity (247). So taking the Facts of that History to be true, we must believe the Miracles actually wrought as there is related, which for the Reason before given argue a Divine Authority; and the precepts therewith enjoyned to be real Laws of Morality

enforced with promises of Rewards and Terrour of Punishments in the highest and most flagrant state of human concernment; no
122v. Power on Earth / can dispense with these Laws, nor Criminals live concealed. Here is the true Principle of Justice and Peace in the ⊙ that can oblige men to Duty, which evulsed out of Mens minds leaves the ⊙, as a Forest of wild Beasts.

But now to Show further that what men call Reason, is so far from being a Criterion of Good and Evil, that it is no Guide at all. for granting that there may be a justice of Thought, and that it may be pursued to a proper end, yet there is free will which for the most part gets the better of right Reason, that is true Interest, So that as to Good and Evil, the Action as well as the Opinion, shall take a turn clean contrary, and of that kind are revenge, Partiality, Ambition, and not Seldom meer humour, or the nothingness of Fancy which get the better of the most apparent demonstrations. Therefore that what the Adversarys mean by Reason is no Guide but a Fucus, and held forth as I believe more to Seduce others than to Shew themselves convinced.

This may Suffice for Explaining one Term of the Distinction first Noted, Reason; the next is Revelation which wants to be glozed upon to prevent mistaking the Sense in which it is used; first it is not Supposed that every particular person Should be inspired, for that would prove a perpetual contrariety of Revelation and it would be inconsistent with free will, and a real force to compell rather than perswade Men, and So to destroy both merit and demerit; and all that pretend to Such Inspiration among us are found to be Fourbes and Enthusiasticks; and the Inspiration must be attended with Miracles; every one may pretend to Revelations, but none without Supernatural Assistance can controul or Superseed the Course of Nature. And these Miracles must be made apparent to Sense, and not to be imposed upon Human kind (248) by the meer Sound of Words as is falsly practised by Transubstanti-
123r. ation. the Nature of man is incapable of being informed / otherwise than by natural means, and what is Supernatural cannot otherwise be instructed; and to the intent that all men may be alike informed, it is necessary that the Miracles be done by Some either one or a few, and to be communicated to others universally in an historical way. And by that means (that is History incontestably vouched) men by their ordinary Faculties come to be assured of what comes to them by Revelation. As the Gospell for instance whereof the History is vouched better than any other Historys are, how-

ever Credited, is to us in the place of an undoubted Revelation, and prescribes a Rule of Living Eternally fixed and determined, and not Subject to the incertaintys of Fancy which men call Reason.

Finis

By the Hon^{ble} R. North 1732

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

124r. Religion

It seems a presumption to demand Reasons for religious Dutys. that is a Sort of proceeding used onely betwixt Equalls. a superior as God is infinitely to us, Requires obedience & justly imputes crime, where it is not performed, without a better Excuse then that there appears no sufficient reason for y^{t} comand. this were not only foolish & absurd, for it concludes there is no reason because it is not discerned, but it imports y^{e} greatest reflection, implying y^{e} comand is injust & without caus. yet as it is in case of ordinary service, injunctions whereof y^{e} reasons are understood, are obeyd with greatest alacrity, so if there be no duty of Religion y^{e} reason of w^{ch} is not clearly visible to us, wee ought to consider it as a mercy, & admire it; and if in Some instances y^{e} Reason is not So apparent to indeavour the discovery of it is without doubdt a Religious & offenceless contemplation. and such is y^{e} scope of this Essay, wherein nothing shall be dogmaticall, but submissive to learned correction.

In y^{e} first place I find great Cause to thinck Religion imposed to no other End, but y^{t} men might live beneficially to themselves & others. and that if mankind were not inclined to y^{e} Contrary there were no need of Religion, at least such as wee know. for y^{e} End of it were accomplisht. all y^{t} Religion injoyns seems adapted to y^{e} infirmitys of men, as a supplem^{t} to imperfect humane nature. the particulars will argue w^{t} I assert, & with Some clearness, as I shall shew by degrees. the Δecalogue was distinguisht into 2 tables, y^{e} first conteining y^{e} duty towards God, y^{e} second y^{e} duty towards
124v. man. w^{ch} 2 topicks comprehend all Religion whatsoever, if / wee add to y^{e} 2nd, as an explanation, y^{e} duty towards ourselves, for it is included.

1. The duty towards God Conteins besides obedience in generall all Externall worship & adoration. and also a constant fear & Reverence. whereby wee thinck God is honoured & Glorified; and this wee comonly take to be y^{e} End of Religious formes, but I shall offerr w^{t} occurrs to me in y^{t} particular in Due time.

2. The duty towards man comprehends 1. y^{e} duty towards o^{r}selves. 2. y^{e} duty towards others. under y^{e} former are listed y^{e} vertues of temperance, sobriety, chastity, modesty, humility, and all y^{e} rest y^{t} tend to make a man happy within himself. The other takes in obedience to y^{e} Governemt & y^{e} laws of it, justice & syncerity in private dealing, peaceable-mindedness, and all morality y^{t} tends to p^{r}serve society, peace, and comon utility of men. under y^{e} 2^{d}

head, ye vices or sin's correspond to this distribution, and are all Either injury to orselves or to others. and all actions wch produce neither of those are lawfull. ffirst, as to orselves Excesses of Eating & Drinking, are prohibited with ye stigme of Gluttony & Drunkenness, for they are ye causes of diseases, paine, and immature death. and if they were forc't upon us by humane force, wee should Esteem it a tyranous & injust cruelty. yet Such is or nature, yt wee cannot observe a mediocrity & are apt to Erre on ye more benigne pt.,plenty, wch is not discerned but by Exceeding wt is ordinary. therefore wee are disposed to advance from one degree to another, and are continually less able to resist, as or reason is opres't by Excesses, and habit grow's upon us, and wee are insensibly brought to suffer ye Effects of tyranny & cruelty, from or owne neglect. therefore it is a blessing to be temperate & sober if wee value long life &
125r. Eas from paine. the consequence / of Excesses in this kind,Extends not onely to make us unfit for or owne private concernes but to ye publick also & by adding activity to ye body & amortizing Reason, wee fall into ye disorders of quarreling & fighting with others yt are more sober, besides a general remissness of behaviour, wch ought to be tempered so as to conforme to all conditions of men, yt peace & Good will might be prserved. I could say ye same of chastity, & ye opposite vice, wch is ye author of so much misery to men. and ye like of others but this is Enough to demonstrate wt a benefit it is to ye race of men to be religious in ye observance of these dutys. wch is an apparent reason why they are injoyn'd. then wt need wee imagine or seek for any other?

It is not amiss to Remarq, yt wee have no Express comand, but to obviate some infirmity. those things yt are hurtfull to us to wch wee are not att all propence are not prohibited. as if a Man should thro his treasure into ye sea, & leav himself no support, but starve for want, wee should Esteem him a fool, or a madman, but no sinner in yt particular, but should rather prdicate his vertue. ye mendicant fryars (in opinion) are an instance tho upon ye foregoing reason I look upon such a one to be as great a sinner as he yt dys of a debauch. for if Excess be prohibited because of ye Evil it brings, wtever action brings ye same, is within ye prhibition.

I shall touch upon two things wch Relate to this subject 1. self denyall or pennance. 2. self homicide; ye first is Received out of a perswasion it Expiates crimes. then wch there can be no greater mistake. for if duty's are injoyned for ye Eas & Good of men, it is impossible yt paine & torment can make amends, but is rather a new offence. it is as if to Expiate for being drunk,

any one should pʳscribe to be drunk againe as yᵉ most hopefull
125v. course. / I doe not so much wonder at this humor because in all times men were inclined to thinck yᵉ immortall powers cruel, or at least that putting themselves to paine pʳvailed upon their good nature, wᶜʰ hath its rise from yᵉ passion of pitty & yᵗ takes place in men who judg of yᵉ diety by their owne apprehensions. I grant yᵗ where desire tends to yᵉ breach of a duty, yᵗ duty includes an inhibition to yᵉ Gratification of it. but voluntary paine & pennance is Error, & folly, where it is pʳsumed to purg faults, or Reconcile heaven. it is yᵉ sincere Reformation, & Resolution never to offend, must doe yᵉ work. punishmt looks foreward onely, with retrospect it is better term'd, cruelty, and were it not to deterr men from breaking yᵉ law, and taking off incorrigible members, there could be no punitive justice. 2. Then as to Self homicide (249), I am of opinion yᵗ men judg too severely of it, in Reputing it cannot be lawfull in any Case. there is no positive comand agᵗ it. then considering it upon reason the condition of a man may be such, yᵗ his paine is beyond support, and life desperate; and yᵗ it were a charity to dispatch him. another cannot doe it because positive law pʳhibits homicide; but it no where forbids yᵗ a man should kill himself. and it is a curtesie to himself, & injury to no man. then why is it unlawfull? if yᵉ consequence be yᵉ forfeture of goods yᵗ is no prohibition of yᵉ thing, but a customary disposition. Religion never did prohibit it, but has Commended men for becoming Euneuchs for yᵉ kingdomes sake (250), & amongst yᵉ jew's not getting children was lookt upon as homicide (251). Some say it is a distrust of providence; wᵗ is phisick? an art to Eas us of paine & prolong life; that wee use, as if wee distrusted providence? and yet wee must not use yᵗ means wᶜʰ wee know will Eas us of insupportable misery. Reason Extends to all like cases. and to act with reason, not agᵗ any positive duty, is no fault. now if ...

BM, Add. MSS. 32526

126r. A demonstration of free will

wch is in Short, that wee have a plaine & clear perception of Such freedome; as Much as wee have of any other thing in ye world, and Greater demonstration is not to be Expected.

The objections are taken ffrom ye Inconsistency fancyed with ye devine attributes; as prscience &c. & ye Nature of contingency; wch they say cannot be of things foreknowne; for what is certeinly foreknowne must happen & is therefore Necessary.

This objection is built upon principles, Not perceived Nor understood. And there is No Sort of assurance, but ye Devine Nature (tho wee know it Not) May consist with that liberty, wch is allowed to ye Creature. Therefore wee Must beleev wch is certein to our sence, agt the arguments formed out of uncertein & unknowne principles.

As for the Argument from Revealed Religion it is Enough to say, that in ye Notion's of all good & Evil, obedience & disobedience, and all Morality of Action, with ye attendants Reward & punishment; Are Comprised the Notion of liberty, as in ye Number 4. is Comprised 2+2. So as take one away, & ye other ceaseth.

BM, Add. MSS. 32529

[essay on the best state-form]

65r. It is a comon question, what is the best Governemt? as much to ye porpos, as what is the best phisick? Those who dispute thus abstractedly, some for Monarchy, others for Republick, are like ye Gottamites (252), who at a Bridg fought In a caus of the prcedence of their suppositious Cattell. Every Governemt is good or bad Nay best or worst, according to the Circumstances of countrys and people. So phisick May be balsom, or poyson, according as ye patients case may be. the latter Regards ye Naturall, & ye other ye Morall Infirmitys of humane kind; for If all had health, phisick were a greevance, and If all men were honest & wise, all Governemt were an abuse.

But to be More particular, the Asiatick & Affrican regions can never Subsist by way of Equall Republick, becaus the people
65v. Cannot come together, to take order ffor the / obviating the beginnings of Mischeifs, so as the people hear ye News with ye knife at their throats. on ye other side ye Hans townes (253) cannot bear Monarchy, being too Expensive whereby to Compass supplys for pomp & luxury, it turnes to oppression & sitts too heavy to be borne. And the people, allwais hard to be contented, may satisfie themselves in acting popularly, becaus ye sound of a bell, or a Cryers voice, on Every Emergence calls them together. These are ye Extreams, by wch civill cases are best demonstrated. Therefore the hott dispute agt the patriarcha of Sr Robert fillmer is Most vaine, becaus he is In the right In places proper for Monarchy, & the Rest, of whom ye rere is brought up by Mr lock (being an army) are so In places fit onely for a Republick and thus they May dispute on to Eternity, untill they pitch upon some limitts of Country or citty, [and] state the Education and genius of ye people;
66r. and then but Not before ye Caus may be decided (254). / Having
[66v.](255) spoke of ye Controversie with Sr Robt filmer, wch Is touching ye Right & utility of Governemt In abstracto, without pitching on any particular Subject Nation, I shall thus farr comply. To add, that If wee look to reall utility, that Author is Most certeinly In ye right, by Asserting the Evills of Monarchy Incomparably less then the Evills of a Republick. wch [is clear] If without prjudice, wee weigh the Events of ye Extreams, Tyranny & anarchy; ffor The former lights on the better & Richer, Especially Such as are by place or dignity Neer the flame and is sharp & short lived; but ye other spreads all over and confounds ye university of ye people, and is a perpetuall process di Mal in peggio (256), & comonly Ends

in the other Extream, ye worst of Tyranny, that is by such as by wicked & fals Means as treachery, perjury, & all villany have usurped ye supream power, as prternaturall heats are sayd to breed basilisks
66v But on ye other side If wee look to the Events depending / on the
[66r] caprice & fancys of Men, No governemt is tollerable but such as they thinck themselves safe under, and that they will Not readily in a Monarchick State, unless where it is proper & Necessary, & hath bin of long standing ffor as to Events of this sort, truth is Not the point, but opinion And doing men good is Not gratefull unless they accept it so And It is a devious Error of mankind to Suppose Extremitys, If mischeif appear or be conceipted to happen in one mans Case, Strait Every other man thincks it his owne & so out of ye frying pan Into ye fire This wee Remember well when a single bishop & a colledg were but troubled and out of pusillanimity, declined their bulwark ye law, & yeilded to wrong how analogous ye Effect was (257) old birds In cages will be sullen & Not Eat It is just so with mankind, they will Not Exert their Industry & thrive unless they are pleased they will bear all ye tyranny In ye world If it be called & they thinck it their security, tho they Erre toto caelo (258) and under a Conceipt of being Curbed they will
67r pine & / wast strangely they Never allow for the asperitys of Humane life, and that it will Not be Hand smooth but that of Evills ye least is to be taken Nor doth the divinity of that adage che sta bene Non si Mova (259) penetrate them, but thincking almost Every condition better then their owne, are perpetually Moved by Covetousness & fear, two Enorme Enimys of humane peace, to desire the worst of Evills, chang, & being as sometimes happens left to themselves, so as to Injoy their humour they are Most Certeinly undone And No cheat is so Grossly pregnant of ruin, but with flattery of the peoples humour shall carry them to Renounce the dew of heaven brought over them If they fancy it comes by force Therefore to conclude in the way of a Moderator between Sr R filmer & Mr lock, wee determine that In Midling countrys, where Monarky may or may not be altho it is truely ye best, It will not prove so In Effect, unless the people are by some politiq flattery or Illusion made to be pleased and altho a Republick from Experience is found as it is More or less democratick, so More or less oppressive &
67v pernicious to all vertue / wittness all the Greek & ye Roman Republicks under wch No good man actuated by an Heroick publick Spirit to Spend his life & Eas in procuring ye good of ye people, but was Mortified & at length crusht by ye snakes they warmed, as If It were by heaven it were [sic] forbid a good Man to Medle with ye publick, and as a punishmt for Nationall Sinns onely the

perfidious & ravenous permitted to thrive in State action, and for others to interpose were a bold & dangerous Invasion of their property, yet with all Ignorant its crabbed & brutish dealing fleecing y^e^ people, fin' a gli ossi (260), they shall bear and be pleased under all (261); and so y^e^ worst of Governem^t^, y^e^ Most perfect of democracy, hath all y^e^ Effects of y^e^ best maintaining y^e^ people in peace & satisfaction - vult decipi decipiatur (262) - with this distinction these jarring writers may all be In y^e^ Right.

I have bin dealing In y^e^ Extreams w^ch^ according as was sayd Require perfect monarchy or democracy; As for England It holds a Midle state between both, but Inclines to the Greater; therefore falls Naturally Into a forme they call a Mixt monarchy but Cannot, on account of its Magnitude Ever be brought to y^e^ forme of a
68r. Republick / But is more apt to swing as Nature leads y^e^ other way Into absolute rule. And for this Reason it is, that the More the Native or legall Governem^t^ is vexed & distressed the More it works that way, as heavy bodys once loosened doe Naturally tend deorsum (263), and it hath [bin] found by an Intramemoriall Experience, that being wholly overturned setled in arbitrary Governem^t^, the time I need Not Name (264).

The Naturall reason of this is, that in Matters of power & rule over others, w^ch^ helps men to all what Gratifies the concupiscible, y^t^ is p^r^eminence, lustre & all manner of luxury, such as flesh & blood Calls happyness, & is generally sought after with the keenest ambition & envye, Mankind is really a fourb, and without truth or Ingenuity, but on the other side a Most subtile, Industrious & Impudent Impostor. I Say Not this to libell humane kind or Its generall caracter but onely In the affairs of power & p^r^eminence, w^ch^, as a load stone picks all y^e^ Iron out of Gold dust, shall rais
68v. onely persons of that caracter to be active. / And that such are y^e^ Majority, is y^e^ opinion of very great doctors; but yet Many of a Midling sort such as the comon people are & perhaps vertuous & quiet Enough, may appear Concerned, w^ch^ doth Not Impeach att all My observation. becaus such are deluded, and doe Not move upon Judgm^t^ but Example, or rather In Ignorance, w^ch^ Exposeth their passions to be wrought upon by the active & designing men, to doe what is In truth is [sic] against their very Judgm^t^ & will, If they had but y^e^ Grace to understand it, And comonly they doe so when it is too late. I have heard that a peerless demagogue about y^e^ Reigne of oats plott, sayd that if the people could Not be brought to swallow nonsence & arrant contradictory Stuff it was in vain to p^r^tend to work with them, but If the[y] once came up to that pitch of perfection, then some good Might be done (265). I may

alledg In proof of this charg upon the unquiet spirits that are ye fomentors of chang, the knowne case of conventicles in former Reigns and occasionall conformity In this (266), Especially ye latter,
69r wch is such a declaration of blasfemous hypocrisy as / No party of men In ye world Ever owned before The Jesuits come ye Neerest, but they doe it more covertly & artificially It hath this dilema, Either Religious conformity is lawfull or Not If lawfull why doe they break unity? If unlawfull why doe they conforme to serve turnes? But The fals cant is Not so apparent in other Instances, of ambitious knavery as In this, but ffull as Substantiall & pernicious, Therefore It is reasonable to conclude when men are very zealous for ye publik, It is their owne private profit they drive at And speaking of getting liberty, they mean it as one step towards Getting into power, In order to oppress was Ever any proceeding more demonstrable then that of the dissenters hath bin of this? In the reigne of Q Eliza & K James 1 ye word was liberty of conscience, wch in the Reigne of Ch 1 Grew up into a Style, so far from Indulging others as to Sound Nothing out but root &
69v branch (267) / In Ch 2d they desired liberty againe, and thrived in it so well as most of the teachers became so formidable with their congregation's, that underhand they were made court pensioners (268), and at ye Same time, past with their Silly auditors for Mortifyed Self denying Saints In Jac 2 they had Gott over liberty & set up for prferment and in W 3 In Scotland they gott uppermost and Instantly fell to hacking and hewing, as ye world knows, & the nation ffears suffering the like from them (269) Even in this Good Reigne, And with so Much ye More reason, as they ffight high In ye Caus of hipocrisy These methods are Not peculiar to these dissenters as such, but as they are a twisted pack In a Confederacy, to disturb the prsent Establishmt and by its dissolution gett into power, & command of the good things of this world, And In all states & countrys there are the same more or less Importune, but under other denominations, as may be most
70r popular and so disguising their fraud, and as Either / generall Ignorance or Remissness permitts they shew from under the fair vizor ye foul fiend, and getting Into power, Make their owne party sensible as well as others what their aim was from ye beginning And If a people that hath a cheat so broad afore their Eys, as this Is to England, will be caught over & over againe ye same way, decipi volunt Et decipiantur (270)

The use I intended of this observation of the falsness & perfidy of seditious spirits such as are Ever most foreward in disturbing of setled Governemts aggravating comon accidents as Infernall policys,

and Inventing fals occasions, If reall ones doe Not happen to accend the people Into fears & Jealousys of they know not what, till they break out in to tumult & confusion is this, that No other is to be Expected upon seditious changes, but that a Governem^{t} Should Swing Into the Extream its naturall disposition leads too. If it be towards Monarchy then Into y^{e} tyranny of some one person. If
70v. towards / a Republick, then Into democracy, w^{ch} is the tyranny of y^{e} people. But No disorder can Ever bring a rule tending to Monarchy to corrupt towards a democracy, Nor y^{e} latter towards y^{e} other. for that the tendency is such must be admitted, then what should alter or hinder its succeeding. It Must be onely the vertue and publick or self-denying spirit of those in power. And that is to be expected ad Grecas Calendas (271); for I thinck It is apparent Enough, that all these affairs are Managed by persons of caracter toto celo (272) contrary, and as y^{e} tree so will be y^{e} fruit. Who Can Expect y^{t} in a knowing Historicall world good men Should leav God almightys blessing peace within & without, for a life of dangerous & tempestuous Experiments; was Ever any one Such well used, Nay Not crusht? as was Noted. will it Ever be forgot that 6. (273) bishops who Inspired by Conscience of duty, put themselves out of the posts of Honnor plenty & Eas, Into prisons, for y^{e} publick Good w^{ch} once secure were for that very Conscience
71r. opprest, and turned all loos a starving? / It were happy for humane kind If such cases of these could Ever be forgott. If wee had them Not So Neer, they are Numerous Enough In ancient Historys; what Els are y^{e} Storys of Aristides phocion, Scipio, Tully &c. (274), but as I sayd wee need not travel so far back. Therefore let y^{e} rule be sacred; doe y^{r} owne buissness & Medle Not with Such as are (described) given to Chang (275). concluding that changes In England, If Not by some kind means Reduced back to ancient Institution againe or some other If not y^{e} same yet Equivalent in Effect to it, tends to arbitrary power and what Ever y^{e} Specious p^{r}tences are persisted in, Must Setle & End in it.

BM, Add. MSS. 32529

[essay on passive obedience and non-resistance]

79v. It may Not be amiss to observe the Inconveniences & Inconsistencies that Emerg upon the Exploding ancient maximes of law, Especially Relating to Governem^{t}. It is No less Mischeivous Exaggerating them beyond their Import or designe then laying them wholly aside, And such hath bin the condition of the decantated rule of passive obedience & Non-resistance. These words run upon y^{e} tongues of y^{e} vulgar together In this Manner tho they are synonimous, & so prove but a tautology. for Non Resistance Inferrs passive obedience & E contra (276): That Non Resistance, If it may be so styled, with active force, opposed to the Royall power is against law I doe Not thinck a question but out of all manner of doubdt. The Statute of treasons temp. Ed. 3 (277) I thinck is law, and it is a sacred Interest & right of y^{e} people that it Should be so; for what fence or boundary have wee at treasons but that? In that law two articles are these. 1. Imagining the death of y^{e} King, proved by overt act /

80r. 2. levying warr. both these articles are Enacted to be treason. Then How can any active force Moved Either against or without royall authority, Not be treason? and surely passive obedience is No other, but forbearing to move with active force. therefore all that men say ag^{t} passive obedience is thrown out against the very Statute of treasons, w^{ch} is and I hope Ever will be y^{e} law of England. I doe Not understand that Not yeilding to a wrong, to be att all within that law. As If a man by Colour of authority from Court, demands taxes, Not given by parlt; It is both lawfull and Necessary to Refuse paym^{t} and also If goods are ffor such caus seised by way of distress to detein them, with all y^{e} strength (not fighting) that wee have. This y^{e} law allows and what is More, an action at law ag^{t} this person for Recovery of all damages susteined by Such wrongfull taking, tho done by royall authority ffor by the law of England all Illegale Comissions are Nullitys; w^{ch} is a temper for the peoples safety ag^{t} Excesses of power, that No Nation In y^{e} world but England Enjoys. But all this is consistent with passive

80v. obedience, becaus active Resistance, & Not yeilding / To Illegal proceedings are very different, so much that the latter is very lawfull, and y^{e} former, as y^{e} p^{r}sent & all former Reignes will take care to Maintaine, for the legall & Necessary defence of y^{e} Governem^{t}, to be No less then High treason within y^{e} Stat. 25 Ed. 3. what then hath bin the occasion, that the maintaining of this law of Non-Resistance, is throwne upon the late assertors of it, as If it Involved a most prostitute Resignation of all liberty & property to the absolute

disposall of the Crowne; and they as Infamous betrayers of the rights & libertys of y^e^ people of England, pointed at & on Every slight handle or occasion, stigmatized & taunted with it? The Resolution of this Mistery is Obvious, and is No other then a Most Naturall process from one Extremity to another. ffor in former Reignes the clergy, for reasons knowne to themselves, ffell into a way of preaching up the authority of the crowne, & being devines
81r. and Not lawyers, took the Subject from the / law, Into their owne learning devinity, and accordingly treated a legall duty as a theologicall Subject (278); and then the Style In w^ch^ they talked could be No other but that obedience to kings was necessary by the law of God and Resisting them was Against Gods holy ordinance, threatning damnation to all that did it. that they must suffer here and Expect their Reward in y^e^ Next world; but not lift up y^e^ arme of flesh against the lords anointed, and however distressed in this world, Resort to the churches armes preces & lacrima^e^ & Non plus ultra (279). These sort of discourses, Especially being by some of the most adulatory or designing of them, carryed to a nonsensicall pitch of Rigor So much in abstracto, without Reference at all to y^e^ law, but all founded on theology, lay open to those prodigious Misconstructions that partly out of fear, much out of Ignorance, but More out of pervers Malice fell upon them. ffor sayd the objectors, these men have layd aside all o^r^ laws and make Every thing Jure devino, so y^t^ wee must come to them to know If any thing
81v. & / what is our owne; therefore let us [keck] (280) o^r^ laws and away with them, & them and their doctrine of Non Resistance. Inferring straight, becaus the clergy made a point of law, Non-Resistance, a pulpit doctrine w^ch^ ought Not to have bin done. therefore active Resistance is lawfull. A sort of logick very ordinary with comon people. Especially when it runs with their biass. All this Had Bin p^r^vented If the clergy had Either had or used In their pulpets, a just Distinction of the case upon the foot of the law. And Have preached up quiet submission to the laws, Especially such as were made for the support of the Establisht Governem^t^. and have a care of that damnable offence of high treason; and being guilty of it, tho they Escaped in this world, that they could Not, without Swinging Repentance (It is D^r^ pellings (281) frase) Escape in the Next. That the laws of the land prohibited all levying of warr, and arming against the Governem^t^ and as offending against that law, brought forth y^e^ Greatest of Mischeifs, Murder ruins /
82r. and all manner of desolation; thus is the Guilt aggravated, and Carrys the Stain of all those horrid Consequences; and so beseech them for the health of their owne Souls as well as the good of their

Neighbours and pʳservation of Mens lives, & pʳvention of a world of sin, to keep themselves free & undefiled from all plots & Conspiracy agᵗ their lawfull Governours, but to avoid & detest them and all concerned in them (282). I Say If the devines had talked at this rate (ffor yᵉ designe I mean & Not Eloquence, wᶜʰ is yeilded to them) the obloquy of being setters up of arbitrary power, and courting princes to be absolute, In the stile of Nonresistance & passive obedience had Never fallen upon them. Nor their Enimys had that advantage as Now they Insult with over them.

BM, Add. MSS. 32530

[essay on Hobbes's theory of government]

56r. 4. The Model of Mr. Hobbs is a twine of sand, ffor all his politick dogmata, that as it were to Inculcate them by repetition, run thro all his book (283), leans wholly on this foundation (284). 1. that the State of Nature is a state of warr; In wch all things are lawfull. 2. that right & wrong comence onely by pact as when peace is Made after a battell, killing men begins to be Murder that before was bravery & vertue. These two points are his hypothesis, wch dissolved, downe falls all that superstructure, as he, with no small art, Elegance & Industry, hath Raysed upon it. Against wch I offer: first that he hath Not proved Either to be true; he prtends demonstration, and what? that Men in a Naturall state without Institution, Must and In such state, will certeinly fight. Now if by possibility they may agree, and live together without positive bargaines, Granting (to pleas him) that 'tis odds but they doe fall out, his Machine breaks. ffor a principle must be constant, and universall; and if
56v. it may, In any Instance, fail, it is fals / logick to ground any universall proposition upon it. But to Consider his argument, wch I doe Not allow as proof, It is drawne from the Supposed actions of Nubilar (285) Men dropt all at once upon an Island (286), Not prjudiced by any knowledge of society or humane practise. these he Makes to be Ravenous, covetous, ambitious & Everyway qualified for strife, wch In the first place they all goe to work to put in Execution; He Makes them argue & forecast, as If they had bin old stagers in a popolous active Country, but by accident brought together Into that dispeopled place. so the answer is obvious; this disprjudiced race of men, Must, as to all providentiall Courses, be more undetermined, thoughtless, & Impotent then children that can just goe alone; therefore, If I should say ye Argument were childish, I did him No wrong, tho I brought My Self under suspicion of a quibble. It is not just to Inferr any thing of worldly policy or designe, from ye actions of persons void of all knowledge of themselves and the world; It were as reasonable to suppose a Nation of slavering changelings as those he Introduceth. But be
57r. they Meer / children such as wee know and Can observe. who have capacity, as the Nubigenall (287) Men are supposed to have, and Some Experience tho but litle, whilst ye others are allowed None at all. what follows upon their coming together? (for wee allow them able to goe, wch I much doubt ye others could Not.) they observe one & other & by shy degrees take acquaintance, & then goe to play.

O, but they are apt to snatch, & say this is mine &c., & that is an overture of warr. It would be hard Not to Grant they might fall out, as Men & weemen doe, about playthings, ffor objects of ambition and pleasure, that set folks together by y^e^ Ears are no better; but that is a second & Not the first Intention, and Corresponds with what I hinted of corruption growing up in free societys, that makes positive laws necessary, to p^r^vent or cure it. Quarrel doth Not Enter with acquaintance, as he Must Suppose, but by practis. It's true Nature hath wants for life like fire must be supplyed, and when y^e^ pabulum fails both goe out. but vertue & vice, Equity & Iniquity Grow from a series of dealing in the world. there is a considerable acquired skill & Experience of want /
57v. and plenty, and of y^e^ comparative value, or use of things, In order to be Covetous, or to thinck of Monopolising (288); And No man is ambitious of Governement, that hath Not seen the flatterys of it in others and felt, as he thincks, the smart of being kept under. Therefore Judg of the argument, Humane Nature in the process of Sociable life is corruptible, therefore It is at first In it self No better then rotten. Men May, and, at some Time or other, almost certeinly doe fall out & fight. Ergo, the state of Nature is a state of warr. that is, there will be warr some time or other, therefore it Must needs be at first, and when men doe fight there is No peace till they agree, therefore till Men agree, there is No peace. But wee find that this fighting humour is Not Equall, and he must suppose all his Nubigenall men to be philautians (289) like himself, & Ill Natured covetous & quarrellsome. and why so? there are such In y^e^ world, that set men at odds, and In some ages more, in others fewer, and warr & peace Reigne as it were by accident accordingly. Wee find Even children, covetous & ravenous, as they are supposed, doe Not onely love society and are not well (290) without it, but
58r. kind & comunicative also rather then crabbed / or [...] (291) their Equalls, and rather then [...] (292) to be kind to, will hold forth their bread & butter to y^e^ domestick catt or dogg. therefore it is Injurious to suppose all disp^r^judic't persons to bear the most [depraved] Nature, and fals to affirme they cannot agree, but Must of Necessity fight; the rather becaus there is a Judicature of y^t^ society as I have discourst afore, w^ch^ is prompt, as any occasion can be, to compell y^e^ ill Natured to peace; therefore that other argument of M^r^ Hobbs that there being No coercive law, or power among Men In y^e^ State of Nature, to End differences, they must doe it by warr, falls also to the Ground. And upon the whole, considering all Circumstances, wee must conclude ag^t^ him, that warr is Not [illegible]m a direct tendency of Nature in Men, but Enters

as all corruptions, In time, and consequentially, from particular Mens lusts & avarice, and those raised by accident & Education, wch In other circumstances Might have bin otherwise. Therefore as to the proposition, Status Naturae Est Status belli (293), wee may Not Improperly subscribe [cuj]us contrarium verum Est (294).

The Next point is yet more palpably fals. [...] (295) that All right (supposing None before) [beg]ins by Contract. to this a short
58v. answer serves / vizt. then there Neither is [...] (296) ffor If there be no law or [...] (297) from pact, tell me Apollo (298), by what law it is, that Men are obliged by their pacts? And the admitting that, as who Ever denyed it, or held that breach of contract is lawfull? at the same time it is admitted that there is a law (299) (that is of Nature) antecedent to pact by wch it is knowne In mens consciences that they ought to stand to their bargaines, whenever they make 'em. If that was Not true before, it is Not true afterwards, for truth is Ever the same. therefore it is strang to affirme that contract creates all right and Law in ye world, when there needs a law, to make Even that any thing or nothing. ffor If it were not that In verity all Contracts ought to bind before any are made the very Essence of Contract, or pact is taken away, there being No legall difference between no fact, and a Nullity. It were a pleasant Controversie, when a performance of contract is claimed, a man says, Its true I did stipulate as you say, but I desire you will prove that [I am] any way oblidged by it. ffor altho I barga[ined]
59r. yet wee did Not agree or declare that E[ach] / [was] to be bound by his bargaine. and untill I am satisfied that a bargaine without More binds a man I shall keep my liberty, and not governe my self by my bargaine but by my Interest, and I doe Not find that In a performance but rather In ye Contrary. Here is this man to be Confuted but by saying that by the law of Nature antecedent to all Contract, men are bound by their agreemts. And It must be urged, that all humane peace, society, safety of life, and property, and In short all Morality depends on this principle, without wch a Citty is a den of theives, & literally homo homini lupus (300). If warr happens, peace cannot be made, Nor any means be found to prserve society. ffor, If there be not a conscience of duty all prtension to law & right is vain. what availes punishmt of one, If another thincks himself more subtile & Cunning Enough to Evade it? And It must be Exclaimed that without this principle, brutes Governed by appetite are the More rationall Creatures. and it is more base then brutall to contract and at ye same time profess a designe to hold or break as the account turnes. what, [Not] pay an honest det? Restore deposites? betray ye Enterteiner? and

twenty things more as per[nicious], are sanctified by such a fals
59v. sceme. / I know it is the comon charg ag^{t} M^{r} H[obbes] that he resolves all lawfullness as to Governem^{t} [Into] power. but I doe Not know, that it hath bin yet noted, that the same process dissolves all faith & Interest between man & man; and to give a theif right to the purs, and the burglar to y^{r} plate, and the Cutthroat to y^{r} life, becaus you are under their power (301). this compliments y^{e} Magistrate, in Not being Guilty of Murther in Executing such criminals sentenced by y^{e} law, becaus the Criminall is the weaker, and once caught & condemned, must submitt; but In foro Conscientiae (302) he was in the right while he had y^{e} advantage of power; and would be so againe, if by y^{e} slaughter of Judg, Jury & Executioner he could save himself. He doth Not answer us, by saying when laws are made then right is fixt, and its Rules y^{t} is the laws are to be observed. ffor he gives these laws force, onely at y^{e} will of an Irresistable power, such as must be obeyed; and then the obligation determines with y^{e} power, that is If a man by fraud, concealment, or force, falls not under y^{t} power, he is therein so far in y^{e} pure state of nature in w^{ch} all things are lawfull. If he says that such observance of, & submission to laws, is Necessary
60r. to y^{e} Susistance of society, and for the / comon good, wee are agreed, and differ onely in this that the principle our way Maintaines, & his way it dissolves all laws, and that under a fals face of upholding them. now to shew I doe him No wrong, I appeal but to one sentence, In his account of liberty & Necessity (303), w^{ch} is that there is litle difference between right and power Irresistable. by w^{ch} it is plain he wanted but a tollerable salvo to have Sayd None at all.

It is prodigious that there Should be so many fautours as It is believed have bin, In o^{r} age, & the last, of this gentlemans pseudo philosofy, professing opinions of such tremendous Consequence, that If once Entertained by y^{e} comon people, Must Introduce upon the publik his state of nature viz^{t} Intestine warr; with all its traine of desolation and ruin; but with this pernicious adjunct that its Impossible peace should Ever be made, & order Restored. ffor how can any one or more trust others, & so Mutually, when It is aforehand declared that ffaith & trust sink with profit, or rather a fals, as well as true opinion of it; whereby No man can Make to himself a Model of Safety, but what is founded on secrecy, solitude & force. as for treachery it will avail but litle, where all faith is
60v. abandoned. & combinations for y^{e} same reason a / meer rope of Sand, So the state of wolves & bears compared with that of humane kind In these circumstances; and the venom of this doctrine is Much

More pernicious by being drest up under a pʳtension of Moral philosofy; whereof yᵉ principles are Enervous, & drop upon yᵉ least stress, & so the whole fabrick comes downe in Confusion. The Successors, I mean yᵉ moderne Tolanders, who take the name of Theists, and the part of Instructing our Estated Gentry, are kinder as they are More bare fac't. ffor they deal plainely and teach Not the doctrine so much as yᵉ use, in deposing all aw from Religion, & yᵉ rules of honʳ & honesty. Their Master was but a synthetick (304) philosofer, but they are Effectual Engineers, And work openly In compania (305). whereby there may be some Notice of their proceedings and care (when yᵉ publick is so disposed) to pʳvent yᵉ viperous Influence of them. And whither or not it be worthy the consideration of the Estated party of England, who are, or should be most concerned In yᵉ Caus of comon peace & property, and for their sakes (were there No Greater Inducementˢ) In that of Religion, to Curb these acreless underminers, or whither it is Not a Sort of Morall lethargy, or rather Insanity to permitt, Much More to Encourage & Countenance them as too Many have d[one] I leav to themselves to Jud[ge]. /

61r. I doe not pass from this subject, without Stating it with Respect to warr. ffor in that also the Hobbian thesis, that all things then are lawfull, is utterly falls. as that wᶜʰ the Romans called bellum Internecinum (306), and wee, killing in Cold blood, or Refusing quarter, is In the first begginners utterly unlawfull, becaus It is a Maxime of law In Nature, Not to doe Mischeif for Mischeif sake. And when yᵉ Evil is Not to yᵉ Enimy alone, but Recoyls by retalliation on yʳ owne party, and is yᵉ fruit of brutish rage & passion, and Not of any reason Respecting a just End, The Case hath much aggravation. Soldiers of honʳ will Not serve under Such Command, they owne themselves flagrante bello (307) bound by the morall law of doing as they thinck is reasonable to be done to them. all warr ought to be directed to the obteining a just peace, and then weakining yᵉ Enimy, without drawing yᵉ like on oʳselves, till he will accept just conditions, is that wᶜʰ ought onely to Imploy the hands of soldiers In action and the braines of the Comanders In stratagem; and Ever yᵉ greatest acquests with least destruction are most Glori-

61v. ous, and Meritorious. But / what say wee then to the ordinary practis of Going out of yᵉ way of yᵉ warr, to burne poor peoples houses, spitt children in Cradles, & the like of wᶜʰ wee have Examples Not very antique, for No reason perhaps but a crabbed pleasure Some have in destruction, to flesh yᵉ soldiery, and habituate them in cruelty, or perhaps to Exhilerate a Rabble, & make them bear the senceless Calamitys of warr by Relations of Mighty

victorys, and the Injoyment of bonefires & illuminations, and so uphold their Ignorant & declining zeal? It were well if States y^{t} Need such arts & Expedients would addict themselves More to peace then warre (308).

All these Considerations weighed I thinck doe ffully demonstrate to a Mind Sensible and undepraved, that In the Most disp^{r}judiced state of humane Nature, discharged of all laws contracts and positive obligations, and In its worst Effects actuall warr it self, there is a superior rule and law, w^{ch} Every particular man knows and ought to Regulate his actions by; And are, In a word, decisive in y^{e} Controversie ag^{t} M^{r} Hobbs, and his More Impudent followers.

North papers, Rougham, 23C5

An acc^{o} of My being closeted (309) about M. (310) terme My lord chanc^{r} (311) Comanded Me to dine with him, w^{ch} I did & after dinner he retired to another room, where I attended on him, & sitting downe, he discourst to y^{e} following Effect.

The K. had Comanded him to send for me, to know my opinion & Resolution touching some matters w^{ch} his ma^{tie} had thought of proposing to y^{e} next parlt. That he had y^{e} like Command as to others also, for his Ma^{tie} was resolved to know y^{e} minds of Every Indeviduall man of y^{e} hous.

And if he found his buissness would be done they should sitt Els Not, ffor w^{t} Reason had y^{e} K. to let y^{e} hous Meet, to fly in his & his Ministers faces, without any assurance of his buissness.

And it was whether I would agree to Repeall y^{e} test, w^{ch} understood y^{e} 25 & . . . Car 2 (312).

And also defend his Ma^{ties} p^{r}rogatives w^{ch} understood y^{e} Eccll Comission (313) & Non obstantes (314). He againe Said he Must carry My answer to y^{e} King.

I ans^{d} that I Ever did & would defend his Ma^{ties} Ministers, allwais having found y^{t} blows at them were intended & did for y^{e} most part hurt y^{e} King.

As to y^{e} test I sayd at y^{e} time of y^{e} Making of it, we thought that it was ffull of Malice to y^{e} p^{r}sent King, then y^{e} Duke, and that there was not so Much need of it as was p^{r}tended.

Afterwards when y^{e} bill of Exclusion was on foot (315), I Reflected y^{t} y^{e} other might very well be part of y^{e} same p^{r}ject; as first to Expose him ffor a papist, then make it Necessary to Exclude him.

So y^{t} I had No Such Reverend opinion of y^{t} test as I beleev'd some others had. I say'd y^{t} since I had y^{e} hon^{r} of sitting in y^{e} hous, I had not in any thing voted ag^{t} y^{e} kings mind, & never would if I could help it, but how decent it was for any one to say beforehand w^{t} he would doe in y^{t} place y^{t} was an honest Man I Referr'd to his lops.

Then his lops Replyed that I had say'd well, and I Must appear to y^{e} K. and it would be much ffor My service, ffor he was my freind, therefore took upon him to advise Me, to give y^{e} Same answer to y^{e} K. himself.

But he advised me, ffor My own service, to leav out y^{t} Matter of decency, as w^{t} would be very unpleasing to y^{e} King, and very p^{r}judiciall to Me. and y^{e} shorter my answer was y^{e} better; and he would Returne to y^{e} K. w^{t} I had sayd.

And I desired his lops, having thankt him for his favour to Make My answer as Easy to y^e^ K. as it would admitt. w^ch^ was

1. That I should allwais defend his Ministers

2. That I never would vote ag^t^ his mind If I Could help it.

Afterwards he sent to me to attend him at his rising from y^e^ chancery. & M^r^ Coriton (316) (who had bin catechised before I was) was also to attend. I met him at y^e^ Staires ffoot & walking on Everybody observing, he sayd I must at 6. at night be at his lodging at whitehall, and he must Carry me to y^e^ King.

I ask't if it was absolutely necessary for me to goe to y^e^ King, & he answered with a positive frowne that it Must be; I sayd I would wait on him.

for I Must Confess that as (317) I hoped My answer, w^ch^ was as plausible, and yet as free from Engagem^t^ as I could Contrive would have served y^e^ turne, but I must goe farther.

That Night at y^e^ time found in his lops lodging 7. or 8. of My profession, Members who attended upon y^e^ Same buissness, but without knowledg of Each others buissness beforehand, but all from their owne collected y^e^ intregue of y^e^ Rest.

After long attendance I & M^r^ Mountague (318) were sent ffor & were lighted thro y^e^ passages to M^r^ Chiffinites (319) lodgings by his lops servant with a flambow, where being Entered I was first calld into y^e^ room where y^e^ K. was, onely My l^d^ Chancellor being p^r^sent.

I made a low Reverence & y^e^ K. came towards me & my l^d^ chanc.^r^ spoke to y^e^ following Effect.

According to y^r^ Ma^ties^ Commands I sent ffor M^r^ N. and spoke to him of those Matters w^ch^ y^r^ Ma^tie^ desired to have his ans^r^ too, and I found him very ready to comply with y^r^ Ma^ties^ desires. However I thought Expedient that he waited on your ma^tie^ y^t^ he Might give y^r^ ma^tie^ the assurances of his obedience himself.

Then y^e^ King spoke, viz^t^ I am assured y^t^ you are very free to serve me, Especially upon this occasion. I consider how hard and injust it is, that such as are my freinds, and have allwais bin faithfull to Me & served Me, cannot live upon y^e^ same termes as other my subjects but must be perpetuall breakers of laws ffor serving me, and when I am gone be torne a pieces for it, by their fellow subjects.

Therefore I am determined to have these laws & tests Repealed, y^t^ My freinds may all be at Eas alike in serving Me. And I would know w^t^ you will doe towards it.

Then I spoke, viz^t^.

My lord chancellor having sent for me by y^r^ ma^ties^ comand as I

understood from his lops, I waited upon him; and he was pleased to ask me ye question yr Matie Now does.
to wch I answered, and doe humbly ansr to yr matie, that so long as I have had ye honr to sit in ye hous of Coms I had Not given any vote agt yr maties pleasure, & Never would if I could help it.

Then ye King askt if I would vote for him to wch I Replyed Sr I consider this difficulty wch May ffall upon Me wch would distract me. First if I should promise yr matie I would rather dy then Recede from it. and being in ye hous of Comons & forc't to give My Judgmt in so great a trust, I would rather dy then give it against My sence & opinions of wt I ought to doe. So if it should fall out that having promis't yr Matie, I should happen to be of a diffring opinion, it would Make Me madd. And this possibility of being intricated I desired of all things to avoid.
The K. turned to my ld Ch. & sayd this is Not as you told Me. whereto he added that he understood me quite otherwise; I sayd

That I had sayd ye same words to My ld Chancellor yt I had sayd to his Matie and if this were ye last Moment I could Not say otherwise, Nor More.

ye ld Chancr sayd farther yt I spoke much agt ye test & that it was a branch of ye Exclusion.

I sayd that was True & Repeated ye Same againe shortly.

Then ye Chanc fell to argumt & sayd I had no reason to Make difficulty in this matter. and yt ye Reserves to opinion upon debate (320) was but a subterfuge ffor in truth all Mens opinions in a Matter so publickly talkt off were fixt & ye debates of ye hous were but formall. it was true yt upon suddain Motions ye reasons of ye hous Mit sway people. and I could tell if I would what My opinion was in this matter.

The King then spoke & argued to ye following Effect
This thing wch I desire is Not onely ye Most Reasonable thing in ye world & ye justest, but also it is ye Interest of ye church of England & ye onely way to prserve it. ffor If this Equality cannot be had in this way I propose, I must Make use of My prrogative, and procure it My owne way, wch I will Ever adhere to; & this will open a door to many Mischeifs to Enter into ye affaires of ye Church of England.

And if I have this thing done I shall Esteem Myself bound to defend ye church of England from all Inconveniences whatsoever. And he litle Expected that any of his servants, who had a dependance upon him, Should Make any question of Complying with him in this, wch he was resolved should be done, and therefore supposed I would no longer hesitate.

I answered that I would Never vote ag^{t} his Ma^{ties} Comand, If I could help it by any means & if I were to dy y^{e} next Instance I would Not say more.

That is, sayd y^{e} K. you will absent y^{r}self. you know y^{e} scripture says he y^{t} is Not for us is ag^{t} us (321), and I hope I Shall Not ffind you so, ffor it will be very Inconvenient.

I answered againe that If I were to dy y^{e} Next Moment I Could Not say otherwise.

why then, s^{d} y^{e} King, in plain English, you are a trimmer. I complained of y^{e} Greatest unhappyness Could befall Me to be so Censured by his Ma^{tie} but If My Life were that Instant to Ceas, I could not say more.

After w^{ch} y^{e} K. stood still looking upon me some time & s^{d} he would press Me no farther. In y^{e} Mean time y^{e} lord Chancellour was gone to y^{e} door, to p^{r}pare for another. & y^{e} K. Made a bow, w^{ch} I understood as a Command to be gon, and with a very low obeisance, I Made y^{e} best of My way home. This is y^{e} truest acc^{o} I can give of y^{e} Most Important act of My whole life.

9 Dec. 1687

APPENDIX I: The vocabulary of the essays

1. Nonce-words, expressions and meanings
2 Words, expressions and meanings whose first occurrence in *OED* is after 1750
3. Words, expressions and meanings whose last occurrence in *OED* is before 1660.

What follows is merely an attempt at roughly indicating some of the most striking features of Roger North's vocabulary Although well versed in contemporary vocabulary Roger was clearly un-Augustan in his use of words He creates nonce-words and constantly uses words to suit his own purpose, "uninhibited" is probably the aptest qualification for the way in which Roger uses words and for that matter language in general

ad 1 *

ABSOLETED, past part. (f 80r-1)	*OED* gives *absolete*, an erroneous form due to a confusion between *absolute* and *obsolete*, and also *obsoleted* (past participle of the verb *obsolete* = "render obsolete").
ACRELESS, adj (f.60v-2)	"not possessing land"
ARTFUL ("termes"), adj. (f.37r)	"technical"; none of the *OED* meanings applies here
AUTHOR, sb. (f 125r-2)	*OED* gives only persons, not things.
AXIOMATA, sb. (f.120r)	*OED* does not give this plural.
BREAK UPON, v. (f 134r)	"collide with", "come up against"; *OED* gives the meaning "dash in pieces", "topple over", "clash with" (of waves)
CHICANEUR, sb. (f 18r)	*OED* gives *chicaner* = "caviller" (1694).
CHOURE WOMEN, sb. (f 69r-1)	"charwomen"
CONSEQUENT OF, adj. (f.101r)	*OED* does not give this combination.
CONSIGN, v. (f.22v)	"assign"; *OED* does not give this meaning.

* This list contains various kinds of words, ranging from what seem to be slips of the pen ("ingrift") to creative coinages ("handsmooth", "pincushion") The numbers "1" and "2" after the folio-number refer to either the first or the second essay containing that specific folio-number

CRACK, sb. (f.130r)	"crisis"; none of the *OED* meanings applies here.
DENSIBILITY, sb. (f.102v)	"capability of being made or becoming dense or denser"
DERIVE UPON, v. (f.121r)	"gather", "deduce", "obtain"; *OED* does not give this combination.
DETERMINED ("to"), past.part. (f.135v)	"entitled to"; *OED* does not give this meaning.
DISONERATION, sb. (f.23v)	"exoneration"
DISTRIBUTE OUT, v. (f.14r)	*OED* does not give this combination.
DUPLA, sb. (f.32r)	"duple proportion between one note and another"; "duple time"
ENTREPRENANT, adj. (f.18r)	*OED* has *entrepreignant* = "enterprising" (the only occurrence: 1475).
FACINOROSITY, sb. (f.139r)	*OED* has *facinorous* = "extremely wicked", "criminal" (1548) and *facinorousness* (1727).
GOLD-SCALES, sb. (f.17v)	*OED* gives the noun, but not the attributive use of it.
HAND-SMOOTH, adj. (f.67r-2)	"perfectly smooth"; the only figurative meaning recorded by *OED* ("flat", "plat", "unqualified", 1612) does not apply here.
HEREDITOURS, sb. (f.83r)	"heirs", "inheritors"
HIGH-DRIVEN, past part. (f.68r-1)	"treated exhaustively"
HOSTEL-DE-VILLE, sb. (f.17v)	*OED* has *hotel-de-ville* = "town-hall" (1644).
ILL-IMITATED, past part., adj. (f.129r)	"badly imitated"
ILL-MENDED, past part., adj. (f.75v)	"badly mended"
IMPUNI, adv. (f.87v)	*OED* gives the adjective *impune* = "unpunished", "enjoying impunity" (two occurrences: 1614 and 1615).
INDOLENT, adj. (f.20r)	"feeling neither pleasure nor pain"; none of the *OED* meanings applies here.
INGRIFT, v. (f.117r)	"engraft", "ingraft"
INSCRIBE, v. (f.105r)	"ascribe", "assign"
INTRAMEMORIAL, adj. (f.68r-2)	"within living memory"
INTUIT, sb. (f.64v)	*OED* only gives the verb *intuit* = "know immediately by intuition".
JARGONS, sb. (f.107v)	*OED* does not give this plural.
KECK, v. (f.81v-2)	"vomit", "reject with loathing"; *OED*

only gives "to keck at" in this meaning.

MEDDLE, v. refl. (f.85r) "concern oneself", "busy oneself"; *OED* does not give the combination with *in* for this meaning.

NON-AFFECTATION, sb. (f.123r-1) "absence of affectation"

NUBILAR, adj. (f.56v) "coming from the clouds"; *OED* gives *nubilous* = 1. "cloudy", "foggy", "misty" 2. "obscure", "indefinite".

NUBIGENAL, adj. (f.57r, f.57v) "coming from the clouds"

OVERGROW UPON, v. (f.137r) *OED* does not give this combination.

PALE, sb. ("without the pale"), (f.140v) "in ordinary experience", "as far as I know"; *OED* does not give the absolute use of the phrase *without the pale.*

PARROTINE, adj. (f.16r) "parrot-like"

PEACEABLE-MINDEDNESS, sb. (f.124v-2) "the state or quality of being peaceable-minded"

PHILALETHES, adj. or sb. (f.12r) "truthful", "truth-loving", "lovers of truth" (cf. Greek Φιλαλήθης)

PHILAUTIANS, sb. (f.57v) *OED* gives *philauty* or *philautia* = "self-love" (-1721).

PINCUSHION, sb. used *attrib.* (f.140v) "refined", "over-refined"; none of the *OED* meanings (1706) applies here.

PINCUSHION'T, v. (f.141v) "observe all the forms of behaviour scrupulously"

PROPENSE, sb. (f.21r) "tendency", "inclination"; *OED* only gives the adjective *propense*.

REGARD, IN REGARD FROM, prep. phrase (f.106r) *OED* gives *in regard to* and *in regard of*.

RESERVE, BEYOND RESERVE (f.106v) *OED* gives *without reserve*.

RETREATING, verbal sb. (f.93v) "treating in turn"; none of the *OED* meanings applies here.

SANCTISSIMO, sb. (f.87r) "the host"

SECONDARY, adv. (f.15r) *OED* does not give this word as an adverb.

SELF-HISTORIAN, sb. (f.126r-1) "a person who talks or writes about himself"

SUB-PERVIOUS, adj. (f.104v) "permeable in turn"

SUBTERFUGACIOUS, adj. (f.138r) "given to subterfuges"

SYNTHETIC, adj. (f.60v-2) "theoretical"; the *OED* meaning *Of, pertaining to, consisting in or involving synthesis* (1702) does not apply here.

TEMPER, sb. (f.122r-1) "alleviation, extenuation"; none of the

	OED meanings applies here.
THROW BACK, v. (f.63v-1)	"give a reduction of"
TOLANDERS, sb. (f.60v-2)	"followers, disciples of Toland"
UNWONTED, past part., adj. (f.141v)	"boorish, clumsy"; none of the *OED* meanings applies here.

ad 2

ABUTMENT, sb. (f.31r)	(*Arch.*) "the solid part of a pier or wall etc. against which an arch abuts, or from which it immediately springs, acting as a support to the thrust or lateral pressure"; 1793
CAUCASIAN, adj. (f.122r-2)	"of or belonging to the region of the Caucasus"; 1807
ELEGANCE, sb. (f.131r)	"refined grace of form and movement"; 1797
EXPLODE, v. (f.23v)	(*intr.*) " 'go off' with a loud noise, expand violently (with a loud report) under the influence of suddenly developed internal energy"; 1790
EXTRA, adj. (f.121v)	"beyond or more than the usual, additional"; 1776
INDUCTIVE, adj. (f.101r)	"of the nature of, based upon, or characterized by the use of induction, or reasoning from particular facts to general principles"; 1764
IRREALITY, sb. (f.117r)	"unreality"; 1803 (the only occurrence)
JANGLE, sb. (f.39v)	"discordant sound, ring or clang"; 1795
MINUTIA, pl. MINUTIAE, sb. (f.101v)	"precise detail; small or trivial matter or object"; 1751
REGARDING, pres.part., prep. (f.16v)	"concerning, relating to"; 1793
SALVAGE, sb. (f.93v)	"the saving of property from fire or other danger"; 1878
SUPERINTENDER, sb. (f.14v)	"superintendent"; 1776
TINCT, sb. (f.15v)	(*fig.*) "touch, trace, tinge of something"; 1752 and 1794 (the only two occurrences)

ad 3

AMORTIZE, v. (f.125r-2)	(*trans.*) "deaden, render as if dead, destroy"; -1656
CONNECT, past part., (f.72v)	"connected"; -1578 (the only occurrence)
CONSPIRED, past part., adj. (f.137v)	"leagued together, confederated"; -1618
DECANTATE, v. (f.79v-2)	"say or sing over and over again, repeat

	often"; -1650
DIRECT, v. (f.40r)	"utter speech, address (spoken words) to"; -1651
DISPREJUDICE, v. (f.56v, f.58r) f.61v-2)	"free from prejudice"; -1654 (the only occurrence)
DISSIMULATION, sb. (f.136v)	(with *a* and *pl.*) "instance of dissimulating, act of dissembling"; -1582
EXECUTION, sb. (f.135r)	"efficiency in action, executive ability"; -1601
FRANCHISE, sb. (f.128v)	"freedom"; -1648
HABITUATE, v. (f.132v, f.104r)	"render (anything) habitual, form into a habit"; -1649
INSOLENCE, sb. (f.132v)	"unwontedness,unaccustomedness";-1611 (the only occurrence)
ONERATION, sb. (f.22v)	"the action of loading or filling the stomach, the taking of food"; -1658
PREAMBLE, v. (f.71r-1)	"make a preamble to, preface"; -1628 (the only occurrence)
RELY, v. (f.122r-2)	(*refl.* and *trans.*) "repose ... on, upon, in some person or thing"; -1641
SCHEW, v. (f.135r)	"eschew"; -c.1500 (the only occurrence)
SCRUTE, v. (f.124v-1)	"scrutinize"; -1536 (the only occurrence)
SET OUT, v. (f.126r-1)	"display to advantage"; -1646
TEMERATE, v. (f.128r)	"violate, break, profane"; -1654
TUMULT, sb. (f.78r)	"disorderly crowd, mob"; -1648
UNDERSTAND, v. ("An acc^{o} of My being closeted about M. terme")	"mean, imply"; -1617 (the only occurrence)

APPENDIX II: Letters to and from Roger North*

LONDON (British Library)

BM, Add. MSS. 32500

Letter RN to "Honest Robin", June 28, 1677 (f.23r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Aug. 3, 1678 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.221-2) (f.27r)
Letter RN to ?, Aug. 24, 1680 (f.42r)
Letter RN to ?, Sept. 15, 1680 (f.46r)
Letter of Anne North, Roger's mother, to RN, Feb. 6, 1680/1 (f.56r)
Letter RN to ?, April 26, 1681 (f.58r)
Letter RN to "Sr", Jan. 10, 1681/2 (partly printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.247, but Jessopp erroneously mentions Anne Foley as the addressee and moreover gives "March 8th, 1700-1" as the date) (f.59r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, his brother-in-law, Jan. 20, 1681/2 (f.60r)
Letter RN to ?, April 27, 1682 (f.62r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Oct. 11, 1683 (f.72r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Sept. 21, 1685 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.222-3) (f.99r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 30, 1685/6 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.223-4) (f.85r)
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to their sister Anne Foley (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 15, 1688 (f.86r)
Letter of Robert and Anne Foley to RN, Nov. 21, 1688 (f.87r)
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Robert Foley (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 24, 1688 (f.88r)
Part of a letter RN to ?, n.d. (f.89r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 14, 1688/9 (f.90r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Jan. 17, 1688/9 (f.91r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, April 1, 1689 (ff.93r-93v)
Letter RN to ?, April 17, 1689 (f.95r)
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to their sister Anne Foley (in Roger's handwriting), April 20, 1689 (f.96r)
Letter of Dudley, and Roger North to ? (in Roger's handwriting), n.d. (f.98r)
Letter RN to ?, "March", 1689/1690 (f.100r)

* The letters are holograph, unless stated otherwise. The names of unidentified correspondents are placed within inverted commas.

Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 7, 1690 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.224-5) (f.101r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Oct. 30, 1690 (f.103r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 3, 1690 (f.105r)
Letter RN to ?, n.d. (f.107r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 10, 1690 [i.e. 1690/1] (f.108r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, April 21, 1691 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.225) (f.114r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Oct. 10, 1691 (f.116r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Oct. 28, 1691 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.226-8) (ff.117r-117v)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Oct. 31, 1691 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.226; Jessopp gives "3rd October" as its date) (f.119r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Nov. 7, 1691 (f.121r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Nov. 12, 1691 (f.123r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Nov. 17, 1691 (f.125r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Nov. 26, 1691 (ff.127r-127v)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Nov. 28, 1691 (f.129r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 4, 1691 (f.131r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 4, 1691 (f.133r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 8, 1691 (f.135r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 22, 1691 (f.137r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 31, 1691 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.228-9) (f.139r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 7, 1691/2 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.229-30) (ff.141r-141v)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, March 1, 1691/2 (ff.143r-143v)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, March 3, 1691/2 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.230-1) (f.145r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, April 14,1692 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.231-2) (f.147r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Feb. 22, 1692/3 (f.149r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Dec. 14, 1693 (f.151r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Feb. 22, 1695/6 (f.158r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 4, 1696/7 (f.159r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Feb. 6, 1696/7 (f.161r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Feb. 6, 1696/7 (f.162r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, May 20, 1697 (f.163r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, June 14, 1697 (f.165r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, July 4, 1697 (ff.166r-166v)
Letter RN to his brother Montagu, n.d. (f.171r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Jan. 4, 1697/8 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.244) (f.172r)

Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, June 25, 1698 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.244-6) (ff.174v-175r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Sept. 11, 1699 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.246) (f.188r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Feb. 10, 1699 [i.e. 1699/1700] (f.191r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley ?, Dec. 26, 1700 (f.202r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Feb. 18, 1700 [i.e. 1700/1] (ff.203v-204r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32501
Letter of Montagu and Roger North to their niece Anne Foley (in Roger's handwriting), March 31, 1704 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.251-2; Jessopp gives "8th March, 1703-4" as its date) (ff.5r-5v)
Letter of Montagu and Roger North to their niece Anne Foley (in Roger's handwriting), June 2, 1704 (ff.7v-8r)
Letter RN to his nephew Philip Foley, June 20, 1704 (f.9r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Aug. 20, 1704 (f.11r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Aug. 20, 1704 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.252-3) (f.12r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, June 17, 1705 (f.20r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Feb. 13,1705/6 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.253) (f.47r)
Letter RN to his nephew Philip Foley, Dec. 22, 1706 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.254-5) (f.54r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, n.d. (f.55v)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Jan. 13, 1706/7 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.256-7) (f.56r)
Letter RN to Robert Foley, Jan. 23, 1706/7 (f.57r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 6, 1707/8 (f.62v)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Nov. 7, 1708 (ff.63r-63v)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Feb. 24, 1708/9 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.257-8) (f.66r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, June 9, 1710 (f.68r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, June 24, 1710 (f.69r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Nov. 30, 1710 (f.74r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Dec. 9, 1710 (f.75r)
Letter RN to ?, July 17, 1711 (ff.76r-76v)
Letter RN to his nephew Philip Foley, June 2, 1712 (ff.77r-78r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, June 22, 1712 (f.79r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Aug. 29, 1712 (f.80r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, Dec. 19, 1712 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.265) (f.82r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, June 3, 1713 (ff.84r-85r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople),

June 29, 1713 (ff.86r-87r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, July 11, 1715 (f.97r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople), Dec. 22, 1715 (ff.102r-102v)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople), Jan. 28, 1715/6 (ff.102v-103r)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, March 8, 1715/6 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.265-6) (f.104r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople), Oct. 19, 1716 (f.106r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople), Nov. 10, 1716 (f.106v)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, April 14, 1717 (f.114r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, April 22, 1717 (ff.116r-116v)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, June 24, 1717 (f.120r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 12, 1717 (ff.122r-123r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, July 22, 1717 (ff.124r-125r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 22, 1717 (f.126r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Aug. 20, 1717 (ff.128r-129r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Sept. 22, 1717 (ff.130r-130v)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Sept. 22, 1717 (ff.132r-132v)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Sept. 30, 1717 (f.134r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN (from Constantinople), Oct. 22, 1717 (ff.136r-137r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Nov. 12, 1717 (f.138r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Nov. 12, 1717 (f.140r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Nov. 25, 1717 (f.142r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Feb. 18, 1717/8 (ff.143r-143v)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Feb. 22, 1717/8 (f.145r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, June 18, 1718 (f.147r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Nov. 19, 1718 (ff.149r-149v)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Dec. 3, 1718 (f.151r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Dec. 5, 1718 (f.153v)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Dec. 5, 1718 (ff.155r-155v)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Jan. 5, 1718 [i.e. 1718/9] (ff.157r-158r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 8, 1718/9 (f.160r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 16, 1718 [i.e. 1718/9] (f.161r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, April 29, 1719 (f.163r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Aug. 9, 1719 (f.165r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Sept. 21, 1719 (f.166r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Nov. 8, 1719 (ff.167r-168r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Foley, Dec. 9, 1719 (ff.169r-170r)
Part of a letter RN to his nephew North Foley?, Dec. 12, 1719 (f.171r)

Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, June 15, 1720 (f.172r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 4, 1720 (ff.174r-174v)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 17, 1720 (f.177r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Aug. 12, 1720 (f.178r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Aug. 26, 1720 (f.180r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Sept. 5, 1720 (f.182r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Oct. 24, 1722 (f.184r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Dec. 26, 1722 (f.185r)
Letter RN to his niece Elisabeth Foley ?, Oct. 21, 1724 (f.190r)
Letter RN to ? , Dec. 9, 1724 (f.192r)
Letter RN to ? , Jan. 25, 1724/5 (f.193r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 9, 1724/5 (f.194r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 21, 1724/5 (f.196r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, July 21, 1725 (f.197r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Sept. 12, 1725 (f.201r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, Sept. 24, 1725 (f.203r)
Letter of Dudley Foley (nephew) to RN, Feb. 27, 1727/8 (f.217r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, March 28, 1728 (f.219r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32502
Letter of Hickes to RN, Oct. 15, 1712 (f.33r)
Letter of "John Foley" to RN, Oct. 9, 1717 (ff.35r-35v)
Letter RN to ? , n.d. (ff.42r-43r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32503
Letter RN to the Earl of Anglesey, "Not sent" (partly holograph, partly transcript), n.d. (ff.1v-3v)
Letter RN to "Mr Wright of Downham in Suffolk" (transcript), Nov. 9, 1702 (f.4r)
Letter RN to "Mr Bacon of the Middle Temple Lane", Nov. 18, 1702 (ff.4v-5r)
Letter RN to "Mr Theobalds", Nov. 24, 1702 (f.6r)
Letter RN to "Coll. pilkington", Nov. 26, 1702 (f.5v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Dec. 2, 1702 (f.5r)
Letter RN to Theobalds , Dec. 2, 1702 (f.5v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Dec. 3, 1702 (ff.6r-6v)
Letter RN to "Mr Oakeley In the Middle Temple" [i.e. Sir Robert Gayer's solicitor], Dec. 4, 1702 (ff.7r-8r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer [i.e. Sir Robert Gayer's eldest son], Dec. 6, 1702 (ff.8r-8v)
Letter RN to "Edward Bedingfield at Gray's Inn", Dec. 6, 1702 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.247-8) (f.9r)
Letter RN to Theobalds , Dec. 10, 1702 (f.10v)

Letter RN to "Master Gamage at St Johns In George Court", Dec. 15, 1702 (f.9v)
Letter RN to ? , Dec. 15, 1702 (f.9v)
Letter RN to ? , Dec. 15, 1702 (f.10r)
Letter RN to "John Hickman", Jan. 10, 1702/3 (ff.10v-11v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Jan. 10, 1702/3 (f.12r)
Letter RN to Gamage , Jan. 16, 1702/3 (f.12v)
Letter RN to "Isaak Jermy Esq. at Bury", Jan. 16, 1702/3 (f.12v)
Letter RN to Gamage , Jan. 22, 1702/3 (f.13r)
Letter RN to his brother Montagu, Jan. 22, 1702/3 (f.13r)
Letter RN to "Mrs Salter", n.d. (ff.13r-13v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Jan. 22, 1702/3 (ff.13v-14v)
Letter RN to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Jan. 22, 1702/3 (ff.14v-15v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Jan. 24, 1702/3 (f.16r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, n.d. (f.16r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Jan. 26, 1702/3 (f.16v)
Letter RN to William Longueville, Jan. 27, 1702/3 (f.16v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Jan. 27, 1702/3 (f.17r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Jan. 31, 1702/3 (f.17r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, Feb. 4, 1702/3 (ff.17v-20r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, Feb. 7, 1702/3 (f.20v)
Letter RN to William Longueville, Feb. 9, 1702/3 (ff.20v-21r)
Letter RN to "Mr Robert Sheffeild Apothecary in Holbourne", Feb. 9, 1702/3 (f.21r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, Feb. 9, 1702/3 (f.21v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Feb. 24, 1702/3 (ff.21v-22r)
Letter RN to Bacon , March 1, 1702/3 (f.22r)
Letter RN to John Hickman , March 1, 1702/3 (f.22v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, n.d. (ff.22v-23r)
Letter RN to his brother Montagu, March 3, 1702/3 (f.23r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, March 3, 1702/3 (f.23r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, March 3, 1702/3 (f.23v)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, March 7, 1702/3 (ff.23v-25r)
Letter RN to Bacon , March 8, 1702/3 (f.25v)
Letter RN to John Hickman , March 10, 1702/3 (ff.25v-26r)
Letter RN to Richard Reading [i.e. vicar of Stoke Poges], March 13, 1702/3 (f.26r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, March 13, 1702/3 (f.26v)
Letter RN to Bacon , n.d. (ff.26v-27r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, n.d. (ff.27r-27v)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer [i.e. younger brother of Robert Gayer], March 19, 1702/3 (f.28r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, n.d. (f.28r)

Letter RN to Anthony Keck, March 22, 1702/3 (f.28v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, March 24, 1702/3 (ff.28v-29r)
Letter RN to John Hickman , March 31, 1703 (f.29r)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, March 31, 1703 (f.29v)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, April 7, 1703 (f.29v)
Letter RN to Bacon , April 8, 1703 (f.30r)
Letter RN to "Mr Tibbalds", April 13, 1703 (f.30v)
Letter RN to ? , April 13, 1703 (f.31r)
Part of a letter RN to his brother Montagu, April 13, 1703 (f.31v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, n.d. (f.31v)
Letter RN to ? , May 2, 1703 (ff.31v-32r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, May 2, 1703 (ff.32r-32v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon?, May 4, 1703 (f.33r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, May 28, 1703 (f.33v)
Letter RN to Bacon , June 3, 1703 (ff.33v-34r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, June 15, 1703 (ff.34v-37v)
Letter RN to "Captain Pennington", June 25, 1703 (f.38r)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, "Directed aboard the poply fregat at spithead", June 25, 1703 (f.38r)
Letter RN to Bacon , June 30, 1703 (f.38v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 12, 1703 (ff.38v-39r)
Letter RN to Matthew Johnson, July 13, 1703 (f.39r)
Letter RN to "Madame Pennington", July 16, 1703 (ff.39r-39v)
Letter RN to ? , July 16, 1703 (f.39v)
Letter RN to his nephew Francis 2nd Lord Guilford, July 25, 1703 (f.40r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 30, 1703 (ff.40r-40v)
Letter RN to Bacon , July 30, 1703 (ff.40v-41r)
Letter RN to Mrs.Walton [i.e. the woman in charge of Sir Robert Gayer's pictures], July 30, 1703 (ff.41r-41v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Oct. 13, 1703 (ff.41v-42r)
Letter RN to ?, Oct. 13, 1703 (ff.42r-43r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Oct. 18, 1703 (ff.43r-44v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, n.d. (f.45r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Oct. 30, 1703 (ff.45r-46r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Nov. 18, 1703 (ff.47v-48r)
Letter RN to Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, Nov. 18, 1703 (f.50r)
Letter RN to John Hickman , Dec. 18, 1703 (ff.50r-50v)
Letter RN to Lady Elizabeth Gayer [i.e. Robert Gayer's wife], Dec. 20, 1703 (ff.50v-51v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Dec. 13, 1703 (ff.51v-52r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Dec. 13, 1703 (f.52r)
Letter RN to Bacon , Dec. 20, 1703 (ff.52r-52v)
Letter RN to William Longueville, Dec. 20, 1703 (f.52v)

Letter RN to "Mr Cook", Dec. 23, 1703 (ff.57r-59r)
Letter RN to "Isaac Jermy", Dec. 27, 1703 (f.53r)
Letter RN to Sir John Mordaunt "at the House of Commons", Dec. 27, 1703 (ff.53v-55v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Dec. 28, 1703 (ff.55v-56r)
Letter RN to Isaac Jermy , Jan. 11, 1703/4 (f.56r)
Letter RN to Lady Christiana Gayer [i.e. Sir Robert Gayer's second wife], Jan. 12, 1703/4 (f.56v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Jan. 12, 1703/4 (f.56v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Jan. 19, 1703/4 (ff.59r-59v)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, Jan. 19, 1703/4 (f.59v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Jan. 30, 1703/4 (ff.59v-60r)
Letter RN to Bacon , Feb. 13, 1703/4 (f.60r)
Letter RN to Isaac Jermy , April 25, 1704 (f.60r)
Letter RN to Isaac Jermy , April 30, 1704 (f.60v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, May 13, 1704 (ff.60v-63r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, May 21, 1704 (ff.63r-63v)
Letter RN to Bacon , May 20, 1704 (ff.63v-64r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, May 20, 1704 (f.64r)
Letter RN to "the heirs and assignes of Cholmondesly of vale royall Esqr deceast", June 14, 1704 (ff.64r-64v)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, June 14, 1704 (ff.64v-65r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 14, 1704 (f.65r)
Letter RN to Bacon , June 19, 1704 (f.65r)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer , June 19, 1704 (f.65v)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, June 22, 1704 (f.66r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 23, 1704 (f.66r)
Letter RN to Bacon , June 27, 1704 (ff.66v-67r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 27, 1704 (f.67v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 30, 1704 (f.67v)
Letter RN to the Duchess of Norfolk, July 5, 1704 (f.68r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 5, 1704 (f.68v)
Letter RN to Mrs. Anne Vernon, July 10, 1704 (ff.68v-69r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 21, 1704 (ff.69r-69v)
Letter RN to Captain Pennington , July 21, 1704 (ff.69v-70r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 21, 1704 (f.70r)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, July 21, 1704 (f.70r)
Letter RN to ? , July 31, 1704 (f.70v)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, Sept. 8, 1704 (ff.70v-71r)
Letter RN to "Mrs Killingworth" ["Kellingworth"?], Sept. 24, 1704 (f.71r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Sept. 24, 1704 (ff.73v-74r)
Letter RN to ? , Sept. 25, 1704 (f.74r)
Letter RN to "Mr James Buck", Sept. 29, 1704 (f.74r)

Letter RN to ? , Oct. 15, 1704 (f.74v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Oct. 15, 1704 (f.74v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Oct. 25, 1704 (ff.74v-75r)
Letter RN to Henry Gayer, Oct. 25, 1704 (ff.75r-75v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Oct. 27, 1704 (f.75v)
Letter RN to Robert Walpole? (transcript), Nov. 1, 1704 (ff.76r-79v)
Letter RN to Robert Walpole, Nov. 5, 1704 (f.80r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Walpole, Nov. 7, 1704 (ff.81v-82v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), April 2, 1705 (ff.82v-84r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, April 9, 1705 (f.84v)
Letter RN to Bacon , April 22, 1705 (ff.84v-85r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, April 22, 1705 (f.85r)
Letter RN to Lady Christiana Gayer, April 22, 1705 (f.85v)
Letter RN to Robert Walpole, May 4, 1705 (ff.86r-86v)
Letter RN to "Mr Bedford In Sackvile Street, picadilly", May 6, 1705 (ff.86v-87r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, May 23, 1705 (f.87r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, May 25, 1705 (f.87v)
Letter RN to William Longueville, May 27, 1705 (ff.87v-88r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, May 30, 1705 (f.88r)
Letter RN to William Longueville, June 3, 1705 (f.88v)
Letter RN to ? , June 17, 1705 (f.88v)
Letter RN to Lady Christiana Gayer, July 4, 1705 (f.89r)
Letter RN to Bacon , July 11, 1705 (ff.89r-89v)
Letter RN to William Longueville, July 11, 1705 (ff.89v-90r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 23, 1705 (f.90r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 29, 1705 (f.90v)
Letter RN to Sir John Germain, July 29, 1705 (f.90v)
Letter RN to "Mr Attorney Generall" [i.e. Sir Edward Northey] (transcript), Aug. 7, 1705 (ff.92r-92v)
Letter RN to the Duchess of Marlborough (transcript), Aug. 7, 1705 (f.93r)
Letter RN to his nephew William Lord North and Grey (transcript), Aug. 8, 1705 (ff.91r-91v)
Letter RN to "Mr Taylor" (transcript), Aug. 8, 1705 (f.93v)
Letter RN to "Mr David Boneel In Water Street Brideswell prcinct", Aug. 27, 1705 (f.94r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Aug. 27, 1705 (f.94r)
Letter RN to his nephew William Lord North and Grey ? (transcript), Sept. 29, 1705 (ff.94v-96r)
Letter RN to Taylor (transcript), Sept. 30, 1705 (ff.96r-96v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Sept. 30, 1705 (ff.96v-97r)
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, Oct. 14, 1705 (ff.97v-98r)

Letter RN to his nephew William Lord North and Grey, Oct. 14, 1705 (ff.98r-98v)
Letter RN to Sir John Germain, Oct. 15, 1705 (f.99r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Oct. 15, 1705 (f.99r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, Oct. 23, 1705 (f.99r)
Letter RN to his brother Montagu, Oct. 23, 1705 (f.99v)
Letter RN to Lady Christiana Gayer, Oct. 23, 1705 (f.99v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Oct. 23, 1705 (f.100r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, March 15, 1705/6 (ff.100r-101r)
Letter RN to ? , March 24, 1705/6 (f.101r)
Letter RN to ? , April 3, 1706 (ff.101v-102v)
Letter RN to Bacon , May 9, 1706 (ff.102v-103r)
Letter RN to "Mr Robert Bruce", May 24, 1706 (ff.103v-104r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 19, 1706 (f.104r)
Letter RN to Sir William Rich, Dec. 13, 1706 (f.104v)
Letter RN to ? , Dec. 13, 1706 (ff.104v-105r)
Copy of a letter of Sir William Rich to RN (in Roger's handwriting), Jan. 28, 1706 [i.e. 1706/7] (f.136v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Feb. 9, 1706/7 (f.105r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, Feb. 20, 1706/7 (f.105v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Feb. 20, 1706/7 (f.106r)
Copy of a letter of Sir William Rich to RN (in Roger's handwriting), March 2, 1706 [i.e. 1706/7] (f.136v)
Letter RN to Bacon , March 5, 1706/7 (ff.106v-107r)
Letter RN to his niece Anne North [i.e. daughter of Francis North?], March 7, 1706/7 (f.107r)
Letter RN to Bacon , March 8, 1706/7 (f.107v)
Letter RN to ? , March 11, 1706/7 (f.108r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, March 18, 1706/7 (f.108v)
Letter RN to Bacon , March 18, 1706/7 (f.109r)
Letter RN to ? , March 30, 1707 (ff.109v-110r)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, April 6, 1707 (ff.110v-111v)
Letter RN to Bacon , April 21, 1707 (ff.137r-137v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, April 27, 1707 (ff.139v-140r)
Letter RN to David Boneel , April 27, 1707 (ff.140r-140v)
Letter RN to Bacon , April 28, 1707 (ff.141r-141v)
Letter RN to Bacon , May 10, 1707 (ff.141v-142r)
Letter RN to Bacon , June 5, 1707 (ff.142r-143r)
Letter RN to David Boneel , June 5, 1707 (ff.143r-144r)
Letter RN to ? , Aug. 3, 1707 (ff.144r-145r)
Letter RN to ? , Aug. 15, 1707 (ff.145v-146v)
Letter RN to Bacon (transcript), Oct. 27, 1707 (ff.147r-147v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Oct. 27, 1707 (f.148r)

Letter RN to ? (transcript), Nov. 1, 1707 (ff.148r-148v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Nov. 1, 1707 (ff.149r-149v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Nov. 9, 1707 (ff.149v-150r)
Letter RN to Bacon , Nov. 11, 1707 (ff.150v-151r)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Nov. 13, 1707 (f.152r)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), Nov. 13, 1707 (f.152v)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, Nov. 16, 1707 (f.151v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), n.d. (f.153r)
Letter RN to "Mr East", Nov. 16, 1707 (ff.153r-153v)
Letter RN to Bacon , Nov. 22, 1707 (ff.153v-154r)
Letter RN to East , Dec. 2, 1707 (f.154r)
Letter RN to "Mrs Katherine Alsop at Groby neir Leister", Dec. 15, 1707 (f.155r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Dec. 21, 1707 (f.154v)
Letter RN to ? , Jan. 12, 1707/8 (f.155r)
Letter RN to "Mr Dusgate", Jan.13, 1707/8 (f.155r)
Letter RN to Bacon , Feb. 2, 1707/8 (ff.155v-156v)
Letter RN to Bacon (transcript), Feb. 4, 1707/8 (ff.157r-158v)
Letter RN to Robert Gayer, March 6, 1707/8 (f.159r)
Letter RN to East , March 6, 1707/8 (f.159r)
Letter RN to the Earl of Anglesey?, May 24, 1708 (ff.159v-160r)
Letter RN to "Mr Pooley" (transcript), Nov. 25, 1708 (ff.160v-161r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Wenyeve (transcript), n.d. (ff.161v-162r)
Letter RN to "Mr John Turner", Dec. 2, 1708 (f.162r)
Letter RN to ? , Feb. 13, 1708/9 (f.162v)
Letter RN to ? , June 23, 1709 (f.162v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, June 23, 1709 (f.163r)
Letter RN to "Mr Nevill Ridley in Sohoe Square", June 30, 1709 (f.163r)
Letter RN to Ridley , July 18, 1709 (f.163v)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, July 18, 1709 (ff.163v-164r)
Letter RN to his nephew North Wenyeve, July 18, 1709 (ff.164r-164v)
Letter RN to ? , July 18, 1709 (ff.164v-165r)
Letter RN to Mrs. Chute, Jan. 5, 1709 [i.e. 1709/10] (ff.165r-166v)
Letter RN to Thomas Chute, Jan. 6, 1709/10 (f.166v)
Letter RN to "Mr Charles Leen Merchant in Lynn", Jan. 24, 1709/10 (ff.166v-167r)
Letter RN to the Earl of Anglesey, Jan. 27, 1709/10 (ff.167r-167v)
Letter RN to Vincent Oakeley, Jan. 30, 1709/10 (f.167v)
Letter RN to "Mrs Vere at Norwich", Oct. 2, 1710 (f.168r)
Letter RN to Anthony Keck, Oct. 2, 1710 (f.168r)
Letter RN to ? , March 3, 1716/7 [1706/7?] (ff.168v-170v)
Letter RN to ? (transcript), March 5, 1716/7 (ff.171r-171v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32520
Letter RN to his nephew Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford, n.d. (ff.208r-210v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32523
Copy of a letter RN to his nephew Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford, Oct. 1, 1709 (ff.33r-35r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32524
Letter RN to ? , n.d. [1690?] (ff.1r-12r)
Copy of a letter RN to ? , n.d. [1695?] (ff.14r-29r)
Letter RN to ?, April 30, 1696 (ff.29v-43r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32531
Letter RN to ? , n.d. (ff.3r-7v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32541
Copy of a letter RN "to the publisher", n.d. (ff.1r-2r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32546
Fragments of a rough copy of a letter RN to "Mr Clerck" [i.e. Samuel Clarke], Nov. 27, 1706 (ff.280v-283v, ff.287r-287v)
Copy of a letter RN to ? , April 2, 1716 (ff.124r-133v)
Another copy of the above letter RN to ? (transcript), April 2, 1716 (ff.134r-141v)
Fragments of a rough copy of a letter RN to ?, n.d. (ff.300r-302v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32547
Fragments of a rough copy of a letter RN to Samuel Clarke?, n.d. (ff.382v-384v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32548
Fragments of a rough copy of a letter RN to Samuel Clarke?, n.d. (ff.81v-87v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32549
Copy of a letter RN to ? ("An Answer to ..."), n.d. (ff.81v-87v)

BM, Add. MSS. 32550
Copy of a letter RN to Samuel Clarke, Feb. 10, 1712/3 (ff.1r-31r)
Another copy of the same letter RN to Samuel Clarke, Feb. 10, 1712/3 (ff.32r-77r)

BM, Add. MSS. 32551
Letter RN to ? , n.d. [1719-1720?] (f.1v)

Copy of a letter RN to Samuel Clarke, Feb. 10, 1712/3
(see *BM, Add. MSS. 32550*) (ff.2r-33r)
Copy of a letter of Hickes to RN (in Roger's handwriting),
May 23, 1713 (f.34v)
Letter RN to Hickes, June 2, 1713 (ff.35r-36v)
(within this letter there are two other letters:
Copy of a letter of Samuel Clarke to RN (in Roger's hand-
writing), n.d. [1713 ?] (f.35r)
Copy of a letter RN to Samuel Clarke, n.d. [1713 ?]) (ff.35r-36v)

BM, Add. MSS. 28250
Letter RN to John Caryll, Oct. 28, 1686 (f.115r)

BM, Add. MSS. 29566
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, May 7, 1696 (f.201r)

BM, Add. MSS. 29580
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, Feb. 8, 1686/7 (f.13r)
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, Feb. 26, 1686/7 (f.14r)
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, March 21, 1686/7 (f.15r)
Letter RN to Lord Hatton, Feb. 2, 1687/8 (f.18r)

BM, MS. Harleian 3789
Letter of "Tho Phime" to RN, Dec. 3, 1684 (f.25r)

BM, MS. Egerton 2721
Letter RN to Peter Le Neve, Jan. 13, 1720/1 (f.467)

OXFORD (Bodleian Library)

MS. Ballard 10
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to their nephew Francis,
2nd Lord Guilford (not in Roger's handwriting),
March 9, 1688/9 (ff.128r-130v)
Copy of a letter RN to Arthur Charlett, March 9, 1688/9 (f.133r)
Letter RN to Arthur Charlett, March 19, 1688/9 (ff.137r-137v)
Letter of Montagu and Roger North to Arthur Charlett (in
Roger's handwriting), April 9, 1689 (ff.139r-139v)
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Arthur Charlett
(in Roger's handwriting), April 20, 1689 (f.131r)
Letter RN to Arthur Charlett, Oct. 24, 1689 (ff.135r-135v)
Letter RN to Arthur Charlett?, July 7, 1690 (f.145r)

MS. Eng. Hist. b.2.
Letter RN to Hickes, Oct. 12, 1705 (ff.222r-223v)
Copy of a letter of Hickes to RN (in Roger's handwriting), May 23, 1713 (f.170r)
(for another copy of this letter see *BM, Add. MSS.32551*)
Letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford?, July 2, 1717 (ff.170v-171v)

MS. North c4
Letter RN to his father Dudley North, Jan. 3, 1671 (ff.280v-281r)

MS. North c8
Letter RN to his nephew William Lord North and Grey, Oct. 23, 1701 (ff.13r-14v)

MS. North c10
Letter of John North to RN, Nov. 3, 1675 (ff.55r-55v)
Letter of "Mark Silly" to RN, Sept. 7, 1685 (ff.65r-66v)
Letter of "Mr Clapham from Gray's Inn" to RN, Feb. 28, 1692 (f.73r)
Letter RN to his nephew Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford, March 14, 1714/5 (ff.103r-104v)

MS. North d1
Letter of William Lord North and Grey to RN, n.d. [1700-1705?] (ff.115r-115v)

MS. Rawlinson Lett.42
Letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford, Dec. 14, 1713 (f.37r; other numbering f.80r)
Letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford?, Dec. 24, 1720 (f.82r; other numbering f.176r)

MS. Rawlinson Lett.101
Part of a letter RN to Henry Paman, n.d. [1689?] (f.110r)

MS. Tanner 35
Letter of John North to RN, Sept. 30, 1682 (ff.96r-96v)

MS. Tanner 104
Letter RN to ? , Jan. 16, 1681/2 (f.179r)
Letter RN to ? , Jan. 24, 1681/2 (f.182r)
Letter RN to Henry Paman, Oct. 1, 1690 (ff.220r-220v)
Part of a letter RN to ? , Sept. 27, 1690 (ff.293r-293v)

MS. Tanner 129
Letter RN to [one of Sancroft's secretaries], April 15, 1682 (f.119r)

MS. Tanner 143
Letter of Dr. Pierce, "Dean of Sarum", to RN, n.d. [1683?] (f.157r)
Letter RN to ? , n.d. (f.161r)

MS. Tanner 149
Letter RN to Ralph Snow [i.e. Treasurer and Receiver at Lambeth Palace], Feb. 17, 1682/3 (f.6r)

MS. Tanner 160
Letter RN to Dr. Robert Thompson [i.e. secretary to Sancroft], Oct. 21, 1680 (f.124r)

MS. Tanner 305
Letter RN to Dr. Thomas Tanner, Jan. 17, 1709/10 (ff.101r-102v)

MS. Tanner 340(2)
Letter RN to Henry Paman, Nov. 29, 1680 (f.237r)
Letter RN to ? , Nov. 19, 1681 (not in Tanner catalogue) (f.338r)

MS. Tanner 459
Letter RN to Sancroft?, Jan. 9, 1688/9 (ff.2v-3r)

CAMBRIDGE

CUL MS. Baker Mm.1.48
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to their nephew Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford (not in Roger's handwriting), March 9, 1688/9 (ff.222-9)
(for a copy of this letter see Bodleian Library, *MS. Ballard 10*)
Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to ? (not in Roger's handwriting), n.d. (ff.230-2)

CUL MS. Cholmondely 30
Letter RN to ? (autograph), July 6, 1694

St. John's College Library, MS. James 613
Letter RN to his nephew Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford, Oct. 1, 1709 (Vol.X, ff.1-5)
(for a copy of this letter see *BM, Add. MSS. 32523*)

ROUGHAM

Letter-book
Letter of Hickes to RN, July 27, 1714

Letter RN to his son Montagu, April 27, 1728 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.267)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 15, 1729 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.267-9)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Aug. 1, 1729 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.269; Jessopp gives "August 3rd")
Letter of Dr. Pepusch to RN, Aug. 21, 1729
Letter RN to his son Roger, Feb. 15, 1730/1
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 12, 1730/1
Letter RN to his son Montagu, June 15, 1731 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.271)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Nov. 29, 1731 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.272)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Dec. 17, 1731 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.272-3)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, "1731/2"
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Feb. 26, 1731/2
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 13, 1731/2
Letter RN to his son Montagu, April 17, 1732 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.273)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, May 30, 1732 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.273-4)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, July 2, 1732 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.274)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Nov. 6, 1732
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Nov. 12, 1732 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.275)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Feb. 26, 1732/3 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.275-6)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 14, 1732/3 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.276-7)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 16, 1732/3 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.279-80, but Jessopp erroneously gives "March 16, 1733-4")
Letter RN to his son Montagu, March 26, 1733 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.277)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, April 30, 1733
Letter RN to his son Montagu, June 2, 1733 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.278)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, June 18, 1733 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, pp.277-8; Jessopp gives "June 1733")
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Nov. 26, 1733
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Feb. 21, 1733/4 (printed by Jessopp, *Lives*, III, p.279; Jessopp gives "12th February")

Letter RN to his son Montagu, n.d.
Part of a letter RN to his son Montagu, n.d.
Part of a letter RN to his son Montagu, n.d.

23C1

Letter of "Henry Cranston" to RN, Aug. 21, 1694
Letter of William Paston, Earl of Yarmouth, to RN, Sept. 21, 1699
Letter RN to Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, March 16, 1703/4
Letter of "John Franklin" to RN, Aug. 21, 1704
Letter of William Lord North and Grey to RN, March 27, 1726
Letter of 3rd Lord Guilford [i.e. Francis North's grandson] to RN, Dec. 11, 1729
Letter of William Lord North and Grey to RN, Feb. 21, 1731
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, n.d.

23C5

Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General (in Latin), Jan. 1, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, Jan. 9, 1685/6
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, June 11, 1689 (sent from Saint Germain-en-Laye)
Letter RN to ? , Oct. 7, 1692
Letter RN to "Sir Francis Lawley"?, May 29, 1695
Letter RN to ? , "1702"
Letter of North Wenyeve (nephew) to RN, Nov. 12, 1702
Letter of North Foley (nephew) to RN, April 16, 1705
Letter RN to his nephew "M^{r} Foley", Dec. 7, 1719

23D3

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), "Oct. 1686"

Letter RN to Elisabeth Wiseman, Oct. 14, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Nov. 2, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 6, 1686

Letter RN to Elisabeth Wiseman, Nov. 10, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 12, 1686

Letter of Robert Foley to RN, Nov. 13, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Nov. 15, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 18, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 20, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, "Nov. 1686"

Letter of Robert Foley to RN, Nov. 22, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 23, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Nov. 25, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Nov. 29, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Dec. 2, 1686

Letter of ? to RN, Dec. 4, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Dec. 6, 1686

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), Dec. 9, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Dec. 14, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, Dec. 21, 1686

Letter of "Francis White" to RN, Dec. 26, 1686

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to RN, n.d.

Letter of Elisabeth Wiseman to Dudley, Montagu and Roger North, n.d.

Letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), n.d.

Letter of Dudley and Roger North to Elisabeth Wiseman (in Roger's handwriting), n.d.

Copy of a letter of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to Sir George Wenyeve (in Roger's handwriting), n.d.

Letter of William Lord North and Grey to RN, n.d.

Letter of ? to RN, n.d.

Letter of William Paston, Earl of Yarmouth, to RN, Jan. 13, 1689 [1689/90?]

Letter of Elisabeth Calthorpe to RN, May 19, 1723

Letter of "Mr Armiger" to RN, March 19, 1723/4
Letter of "J. Reddington" [i.e. rector of Rackhythe and master of Norwich Grammar School?], April 28, 1727

23D4
Letter of "William Dany" to RN, Dec. 2, 1689
Letter of Dany to RN, June 17, 1690
Letter RN to ? , Jan. 14, 1690/1
Letter of Yelverton Peyton to RN, Feb. 18, 1690/1
Letter of Yelverton Peyton to RN, April 8, 1693

23F2
Letter of Hickes to RN, May 9, 1710

23F3
Letter RN to Mary of Modena's Council, Oct. 26, 1688
Letter RN to Mary of Modena's Council, n.d.
Letter RN to Mary of Modena's Council, n.d.
Letter RN to "Mr Ayres", n.d.
Letter RN to ? , Nov. 14, 1688
Letter of ? to RN, Dec. 25, 1689
Letter RN to ? , Nov. 1, 1704
Copy of a letter RN to Mrs. Walpole?, Nov. 1, 1704
Letter of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange to RN, June 5, 1714
Letter of Ambrose Pimlowe [i.e. vicar at Rougham]to RN, Feb. 27, 1717/8
Letter of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange to RN, March 16, 1717/8
Letter of "Samuel Halsband" to RN, Jan. 4, 1718/9
Letter of Edward Wenyeve (nephew) to RN, May 30, 1721
Letter of William Whiston to RN, Oct. 5, 1725
Letter of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange to RN, n.d.

NORWICH

Norfolk and Norwich Record Office 26C 4 (NRS 11396)
Copy of a letter RN to Robert Foley (transcript), Dec. 22, 1691 (ff.256r-256v)
(see also *BM, Add. MSS. 32500*, f.137r)
Copy of a letter of Hickes to RN (in Roger's handwriting), July 27, 1714 (f.62r)
(see also Rougham, *Letter-book*)
Copy of a letter of Dr. Pepusch to RN (in Roger's handwriting), Aug. 21, 1729 (ff.66r-66v)
(see also Rougham, *Letter-book*)
Copy of a letter RN to his son Montagu (transcript) n.d. (f.24r)
(see also Rougham, *Letter-book*)

Copy of a letter RN to his son Montagu (transcript), n.d. (f.24r)
(see also Rougham, *Letter-book*)

WINDSOR

Stuart Papers RA.M.18 Warrant Book 3
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, June 20, 1696 (f.245)
Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll, to RN as her Attorney-General, June 12, 1700 (f.276)
(these two letters are referred to on p.114 and p.149 of Vol. I of the Historical Manuscript Commission's *Calendar of Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle*)

BERKSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire
Letter RN to Sir William Trumbull, Sept. 23, 1685 (XXIII,34)
Letter RN to Sir William Trumbull, Sept. 28, 1685 (XXIII,41)
(these two letters are referred to on p.44 and p.45 of Vol. I of the Historical Manuscript Commisson's *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*)

The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer (Sir Henry Bunbury, London 1838)
Letter RN to Sir Thomas Hanmer, April 8, 1718 (pp.182-9)
Letter RN to Sir Thomas Hanmer, June 17, 1722 (pp.207-11)

Calendar Of Correspondence And Documents Relating To The Family Of Oliver Le Neve, Of Witchingham Norfolk 1675-1743 (Francis Rye, Norwich 1895)
Letter RN to Peter Le Neve, Jan. 13, 1720/1 (p.169)
(see also *BM, MS. Egerton 2721*, f.467)

Lives of the Norths, vol. III, Appendix II
[Jessopp printed 15 letters which I have not been able to trace among the North papers or elsewhere]
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, March 16, 1695/6 (pp.232-5)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, March 18, 1695/6 (pp.236-7)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, March 26, 1696 (pp.237-8)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, April 3, 1696 (pp.238-9)
Letter RN to Lady Dacres, April 5, 1696 (pp.239-40)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, Dec. 15, 1697 (pp.240-3)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, Jan. 13, 1697/8 (pp.243-4)

Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, Feb. 23, 1703/4 (pp.249-51)
Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, 1709? (p.258)
Letter RN to his niece Dudleya North, March 27, 1710 (pp.259-60)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, May 1, 1712 (pp.260-1)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, May 19, 1712 (pp.261-2)
Letter RN to William Lord North and Grey, Aug. 18, 1712 (pp.262-5)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Oct. 30, 1730 (p.270)
Letter RN to his son Montagu, Nov. 16, 1730 (pp.270-1)

NOTES

Chapter I

1) BM, Add MSS 32515, ff 2r-2v

2) Augustus Jessopp, ed , *The Autobiography of Roger North*, vol III of *The Lives of the Norths* (London, 1890), p 67f (hereafter to be referred to as *Lives*), for a discussion of Dudley North's views on poetry see L A Beaurline, "Dudley North's Criticism of Metaphysical Poetry", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 25, 1961-2, pp 299-313

3) Bodleian Library, MS North a 2, f 272 and f 273, Dudley 4th Baron North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), Preface (The BM General Catalogue erroneously attributes this work and also the religious treatise *Light in the Way to Paradise* to Dudley 3rd Baron North)

4) Dudley North described his experiences in the House of Commons in a brief tract entitled *A Narrative of some Passages in or relating to the Long Parliament* (London, 1670)

5) BM, Add MSS 32510, f 16v, BM, Add MSS 32523, f 5r, *Lives*, III, p 20

6) "An Important Manuscript Of Unpublished Seventeenth Century Poems", *Sale Catalogue Dawsons Of Pall Mall* (1969), pp 36-40, another version of this manuscript is still among the North papers at Rougham

7) See esp BM, Add MSS 32500, f 93r, letter of Roger North (hereafter RN) to his sister Anne Foley, 1 April 1689 BM, Add MSS 32523, f 6r, *Lives*, III, p 4

8) BM, Add MSS 32501, f 7v, letter of Roger and Montagu North to their niece Anne Foley, 2 June 1704, BM, Add MSS 32501, f 130v, letter RN to his nephew North Foley, 22 Sept 1717

9) North papers, Rougham, 23D3, account of Charles North's rôle in the Elisabeth Wiseman affair (vide *infra*), *Lives*, II, p 230

10) *Lives*, I, pp 399-405

11) Montagu North, ed , *Examen or, an enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended complete history* (London, 1740), pp 600-612 (hereafter to be referred to as *Examen*), *Lives*, II, pp 181-184

12) On 7 May 1689 William III had declared war on France

13) Roger calls his brother Montagu "morose" (BM, Add MSS 32500, f 175r, letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, 25 June 1698) and Dudleya North is not very flattering in her comments upon her uncle Montagu (North papers, Norfolk and Norwich Record Office (hereafter Norwich), 26C4, f 96r, letter of Dudleya North to her brother William Lord North and Grey, 20 Feb 1700)

14) *Lives*, I, pp 45-46, *Lives*, III, p 288, see also Myra Reynolds, *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* (Boston and New York, 1920), p 60

15) The letters between Roger and his sister Anne are to be found in BM, Add MSS 32500 and BM, Add MSS 32501

16) In his edition of the *Lives* (III, p 286) and in his article on Roger North in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*) Augustus Jessopp gave 3 September 1653 as Roger's date of birth Yet there are some reasons for regarding this date as unlikely, and for suggesting an earlier date The Jesus College Admission Book does not give 3 September 1653 as the date of birth Roger was admitted at Jesus College 30 October 1667 and at that time it would have been unusual for a boy to come up at the age of fourteen (information kindly supplied by the Jesus College archivist) At Rougham Hall there is a portrait of

Roger North painted by Sir Peter Lely not long before his death in 1680 (see C.H.C Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 2 vols., London, 1912, vol. 2, p 130), this portrait bears the subscription "aetat. 30", which points to a date of birth in 1650 or 1651 Burke's *Peerage*, Debrett's *Peerage* and the *DNB Corrigenda* all give 3 September 1651. I have not been able to trace the Tostock parish register for the years in question.

17) *Lives*, III, p.67.

18) Cornelis Janssen or Johnson (1593-1661?), portrait-painter, born in London but of German parents, probably Paul van Somer (1576?-1621), portrait-painter, born in Antwerp, lived from 1606 till his death in England, Federico Zuccarro or Zuccarri (1540?-1609) famous Italian painter For these biographical facts cf. U.Thieme & F Becker, eds , *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (37 Bande, Leipzig, 1907-1950) and P T.A. Swillens, *Encyclopedie van de Schilderkunst* (Utrecht & Antwerpen, 1960).

19) For an account of Kirtling see *Lives*, III, pp.290-291 and pp.313-316.

20) Bodleian Library, MS. North b.12, f.309r and MS North c.20, f.69r contain references to payments to the Rev. Ezekiel Catchpole.

21) Op.cit., pp 16-18.

22) *Lives*, III, p.8.

23) *Lives*, I, p.16, *Lives*, II, pp.2-3 and pp.271-272, *Lives*, III, pp 8-9, S.H.A. Hervey, *A Biographical List of Boys Educated at King Edward VI Free Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds* (Bury St Edmunds, 1908), pp.277-279.

24) *Lives*, III, pp.10-12.

25) BM, Add. MSS 32545, f.2r. A "starrkite" was probably a kind of rocket; "star" is used here in the meaning of "a small piece of combustible composition, used in rockets, mines, etc., which as seen burning high in the air resembles a star" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, hereafter *OED*) For a description of these rockets see *Lives*, III, pp.10-11.

26) *Lives*, III, pp.78-81.

27) BM, Add. MSS 32545, ff.2r-2v.

28) Bodleian Library, MS. Ballard 10, ff 128r-130v, not in Roger's handwriting (a transcript of the same letter is to be found in Cambridge University Library, MS. Baker Mm. 1.48, ff 222-229)

29) Cf A.Gray and F.Brittain, *A History of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London, 1960), pp.92-94.

30) William T.Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge Mass., 1958) gives a good account of the undergraduate curriculum at Cambridge in the first half of the seventeenth century.

31) BM, Add. MSS.32506, f.19v.

32) Dudley 4th Baron North went to London to take his seat in the House of Lords.

33) For the period of more than seven months between 1 October 1670 and 9 May 1671 Roger received £29 (Bodleian Library, MS. North c.20, f.184r).

34) *Lives*, III, p.106 note 1.

35) Information kindly supplied by the librarian of the Middle Temple.

36) Francis North was elected as a member of parliament for King's Lynn in 1673.

37) North papers, Norwich, 26C1.

38) *Lives*, III, p.111. Dr. Henry Paman was appointed Professor of Physic at Gresham College in 1679 and he became Master of the Faculties at Lambeth in 1684, upon the Revolution he resigned both offices

39) North papers, Rougham, 23E6.

40) Henry Somerset (1629-1700), third Marquis of Worcester, was created first Duke of Beaufort by Charles II in 1682.

41) The last two were related to the Norths (*Lives*, I, pp.6-7 and pp.169-170).

42) In 1677 Francis North published *A Philosophical Essay of Musick*. John North asked

Isaac Newton to read it and give his comments on it, the latter did so in a letter to John North, 21 April 1677 This letter is at the moment in the library of the Royal Society in London

43) See John Wilson, ed , *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), pp 46-48 and John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London* (London, 1968), p 5 and pp 25-26

44) Both Francis and Roger assisted Sir Peter Lely in legal and financial matters (*Lives*, I, p 393 and pp 409-410, *Lives*, III, pp 190-191)

45) Matthew Hale, *An Essay touching the Gravitation or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies* (London, 1673) Francis North sent his answer to Henry Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society, and it was later included in Lowthorp's *The Philosophical Transactions and Collections to the end of the year 1700 abridg'd* (London, 1705), vol II, p 845

46) This paper has apparently been lost For Francis North's activities as a virtuoso see *Lives*, I, pp 383-388

47) BM, Add MSS 32506, ff 69r-87v, BM, Add MSS 32533, f 2r

48) In BM, Add MSS 32540 (f 37v) and North papers, Rougham, "Cursory Notes of Building" (ff 85-87) Roger North gives a description of his building activities at the Middle Temple See also H M Colvin, "Roger North and Sir Christopher Wren", *The Architectural Review*, 110, no 658, Oct 1951, pp 257-260

49) Bodleian Library, MS North c 10, ff 55r-55v, letter of John North to RN, 3 Nov 1675

50) *Lives*, II, p 236

51) BM, Add MSS 32549, f 103r

52) BM, Add MSS 32500, f 59r, letter RN to 'Sr', 10 Jan 1681/2

53) Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 129, f 119r, letter RN to 'Sr' [one of Sancroft's secretaries], 15 April 1682

54) *Lives*, III, pp.89-90.

55) Ibid , *Lives*, III, pp 216-217, letter of Anne North (RN's mother) to Francis, 12 Oct 1679

56) Between 1679 and 1684 Roger received some £1500 from Francis (Child's & Co, Ledger 1677-1682, ff 50, 302, 336 and Ledger 1681-1687, ff 115-116, 181-183, Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, London)

57) North papers, Rougham, 23E6, "Letters Patent of Charles II", see also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1682*, p 512

58) Stephen College, the "Protestant joiner", notorious for his declamations against "Papists", was convicted and executed in August 1681, *Examen*, p 585f and *Lives*, III, p 158f

59) Edward Fitzharris, who had written a pamphlet in which he advocated the deposition of Charles II and the exclusion of the Duke of York, was executed on 1 July 1681, *Examen*, p 272f

60) C H Hopwood, ed , *Middle Temple Records* (4 vols , London, 1904-1905), vol 3, pp 1347-1368

61) Cf Francis C Gore, "A Seventeenth-Century Barrister", *Quarterly Review*, 260, 1933, pp 94 109

62) The term "ignoramus-jury" was first applied to the Grand Jury which rejected the bill against the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1681, *Examen*, pp 90, 95, 113-114

63) W Cobbett et al , eds , *A Complete Collection of State Trials compiled by T B Howell* (34 vols , London, 1809-1828), vol 9, pp 594-595 (hereafter to be referred to as Howell) See also Roger's extensive account of the Rye-House plot in *Examen*, pp 378-415

64) North papers, Norwich, 26C2, "A Certificate shewing that the honble Roger North one of his Matties Councell Learned in the Law is A ffree Burgess of or towne and corpora-

tion of Dunwich aforesaid 21 July 1683", *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 55 Various Collections, vol VII, (1914)*, pp 103 104 For an explanation of the most frequent contractions used by Roger see p 99 of this book

65) In May 1683 Roger North was named as likely to be the new Solicitor-General (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Jan - June 1683*, p 276), towards the end of 1683 his name circulated in connection with a high judicial post at Chester (BM, Add MSS 32500, ff 68r and 72r), after Sir Hugh Wyndham's death in 1684 he was mentioned as the possible new Baron of the Exchequer (L M Thompson, ed , *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to John Ellis 1674 1722*, Camden Society, N S , no 15, London, 1875, p 138)

66) "Commission from James Duke of York & Albany for RN of the MT Esq to be sol gen to his Royal Highness, 10 Jan 1684", North papers, Rougham, 23E6, and "App RN Esq of MT London as Att Gen to the Queen, 19 Jan $168^5/6$", North papers, Rougham, 23E6

67) Francis North had displeased James in the Fitton-Macclesfield case (*Lives*, I, pp 268-271) and by his outspokenness about James's decision to keep up the army after Monmouth's rebellion (*Lives*, I, pp 357-359), see also T B Macaulay, *The History of England, from the accession of James II* (3 vols , London, 1927), vol 1, p 394 For a printed version of Francis North's speech see *Lives*, I, pp 336-339

68) *Lives*, I, pp 347 and 349

69) Cf Roger's account of his visit, in August 1680, to Badminton, the estate of the Marquis of Worcester, the later Duke of Beaufort (*Lives*, I, pp 169-172), this visit is also mentioned by John Latimer, *The Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol, 1900), p 398

70) Fortunately it is possible to arrive at a relatively full picture of Roger's position and ideas during the period 1685-1690, because a large number of his papers and notes relating to this period has been preserved

71) North papers, Norwich, 26C5, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 55 Various Collections, vol VII (1914)*, pp 103 104

72) Cf R H George, "Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering in 1685", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 19, 1936, pp 167 196

73) North papers, Rougham, 23C5

74) *Journals of the House of Commons 1547-1714*, [vols 1-17], 1742+, vol 9, pp 714-759 (hereafter to be referred to as CJ), William A Shaw et al , eds , *Calendar of Treasury Books, 1660-1718* (32 vols , 1904-1962), vol 8, Introduction, pp x-xxii

75) H R Fox Bourne, *English Merchants* (London, 1886), pp 220-229

76) Francis North wrote a tract on the subject, "Notes on the establishment of registration" (BM, Add MSS 32518, ff 51r 56r)

77) "Reasons ffor a Register", "Difficultys about a Register to be obviated", "Extract of y^e bill ffor a Register p^{r}ferred in the parlt 1^o Jacobi", "Farther considerations for y^e Reg^r bill" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

78) Roger North was one of the Counsel for the Prosecution in the trials of a number of those who had supported the Monmouth rebellion (Howell, vol 11, p 390)

79) CJ , vol 9, p 759, anon , *The Faithful Register, or the Debates of the House of Commons in four several Parliaments* (London, 1689), p 24, *Lives*, III, pp 181-182

80) "Estate and household accounts for the Wroxton . estates" (Bodleian Library, MS North, c 50 and c 51), Roger, Dudley and Montagu corresponded regularly with Dr Arthur Charlett at Trinity College Oxford about the behaviour of their nephew Lord Guilford (Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 10, ff 133r-145r)

81) There were in fact three executors, Dr Stotham, Hugh May and Roger North, but all the work fell to Roger because the other two were not very efficient at managing business of this kind (*Lives*, III, p 191), "The Executors' Account-Book of Sir Peter Lely

1679 1691" (BM, Add MSS 16174), papers relating to the sale of Sir Peter Lely's pictures and to the affairs of his son John Lely (North papers, Rougham, 23C5 and 23F3)

82) Roger wrote a thirty-page "index materiarum to y^e 1^d Guilfords MSS" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

83) Information kindly supplied by the Bristol City Archivist Latimer, op cit, pp 427-428, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Jan 1686-May 1687*, pp 164 and 177

84) Roger, in his capacity of recorder, probably addressed James II on one of the latter's two visits (25-27 August 1686 and 12 September 1687) to Bristol ("Heads of My Speech to y^e King at Bristol", North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

85) Roger records twenty three meetings of the Queen's Council, which consisted of nineteen members the Earls of Rochester, Clarendon, Peterborough, Sunderland, Middleton, Ranelagh, Jeffreys, Sidney Godolphin, Charles Murray, John Earle, Robert Sawyer, Robert Strickland, John Caryll, Major-General Werden, John Werden, Peter Apsley, Oliver Montague, Richard Graham and Roger North (North papers, Rougham, 23C1, 23C2, 23C3, 23C4, 23C5)

86) "An Opinion given upon y^e Stat of 25 car 2^d cap 2 at y^e Comand of y^e 1^d Chanc In Aprill 1686" (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 35r), a transcript of this paper is to be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 460, f 1r BM, Add MSS 32520 and BM, Add MSS 32523 contain various papers by Roger North transcripts of which are to be found in the manuscripts of the nonjuring bishops William Sancroft (Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS), Francis Turner (Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS) and William Lloyd of Norwich (BM, Add MSS 40160) In his "The Convention Parliament 1688-89" (D Phil Oxford, July 1939) Alan Simpson has drawn up a list of "Duplicate Entries in the North and Tanner MSS" (p 404) A, probably incomplete, survey of the tracts written for Sancroft by Roger North is to be found in *Lives*, III, pp 120-121 and in John Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa* (Oxford, 1781), pp xxxviii-lx, the tracts mentioned here by Roger North himself are papers concerning the "dispensing power" (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 35r and BM, Add MSS 32523, f 47r), a discourse on the "high commission" [i e James II's Ecclesiastical Commission] (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 106r), a tract on "praemunire" (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 74r), papers on the intended deprivation and the threat to Sancroft "to be tendered the oaths" (BM, Add MSS 32523, f 70r and BM, Add MSS 32523, f 78r), and a discourse on "Respective Allegiance" (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 158r) Most probably all the tracts between f 1r and f 165v of BM, Add MSS 32520, and those between f 47r and f 81v of BM, Add MSS 32523 were written by Roger North, although it is possible that some of them are transcripts by Roger of papers written by others, but in that case it can be safely assumed that the views expressed in them were shared by Roger (the BM Additional MSS Catalogue erroneously ascribes the whole of BM, Add MSS 32520 to Francis North) In the notes dealing with the North tracts written between 1685 and 1690 the transcript versions among the Sancroft, Turner and Lloyd papers will be given, as far as I have been able to trace them

87) Sir Edward Hales, a convert to Roman Catholicism, who had served as an officer in the army, was sued in a collusive action by his coachman Godden for not having taken the oaths Hales argued that the king had granted him a dispensation, and Chief Justice Herbert and all the other judges but one, gave a judgment in favour of the defendant (Cf F C Turner, *James II* (London, 1948), pp 319-320) Among Roger's papers there is a full account of this lawsuit, "Argument in y^e case of Godden v S^r Edward Hales", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 38r, holograph (a transcript of this "Argument" is to be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 460, f 12) For Roger's views of the dispensing power see "An Opinion given upon y^e Stat of 25 car 2^d cap 2 at y^e Comand of y^e 1^d Chanc In Aprill 1686", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 35r, holograph (a transcript of this paper is to be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 460, f 1), and "Matter of fact Concerning y^e dispensing power", BM, Add MSS 32523, f 47r, holograph (a transcript of this paper is to

be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 460, f 48)

88) In 1686 Samuel Parker and Thomas Cartwright were appointed as bishop of respectively Oxford and Chester, both had the reputation of being crypto-Catholics

89) "Revived" would perhaps be more appropriate than "set up" because there had been a "High Commission" under Elizabeth I (cf "A Comparison of the two High Commissions of 1 Eliz and 1 Jas II", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 48r) For an account of the Ecclesiastical Commission see the anonymous tract *The History of King James's Ecclesiastical Commission* (London, 1711)

90) A good explanation of the term "quo warranto" can be found in G H Jones, *Charles Middleton, The Life and Times of a Restoration Politician* (Chicago and London, 1967) p 75 "Quo warranto consisted in summoning privileged persons – in this case corporations – to show the legal documents - charters – in which their privileges were set forth If a borough corporation, say, had exceeded or misused its powers, it could be punished and its charters nullified, or charters could be found void because of defects in form or in the procedure by which they had been issued"

91) *Examen*, p 624, "Now let any one Consider, that Corporations Exempt from Justice are a Solecisme & a greevance in o^{r} Government, they are y^{e} knowne asylum of faction & disorder " (BM, Add MSS 32523, f 19v)

92) Cf "An acc of Franchises & more particularly such as are Enjoyed by Spirituall persons", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 66r, holograph (a transcript of this tract is to be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 103)

93) In spite of the fact that he regarded some of the ways in which James II used his prerogative as not warranted by law or precedent, Roger remained a convinced advocate of the royal prerogative, cf "Authoritys ffor y^{e} p^{r}rogative", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 4r, and "Of y^{e} King's p^{r}rogative", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 16r, holograph (a transcript of this paper is to be found in Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 460, f 13)

94) Cf Sir George Duckett, ed , *Penal Laws and Test Act* (2 vols , London, 1882-3)

95) Roger describes the activities of the "regulators" in his tract "y^{e} folly of y^{e} Roman Catholick party" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5) See also *Examen*, p 627

96) Ibid

97) "An acc^{o} of My being closeted about M terme" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5), for Dudley's answers to the king see *Lives*, II, pp 221-222

98) "Concerning y^{e} act imposing y^{e} test 1678" (BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 48v-53v), Gilbert Burnet was the one who most vehemently attacked Parker for his *Reasons*

99) In September 1686 Bishop Compton was suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commission because he had refused to suspend one of the clergymen of his diocese, Dr Sharp, who had openly preached against the Catholics

100) In the spring of 1687 James II tried to force obedience from this college in the matter of the election of a new master For the cases of both Magdalen College and Compton see also the already-mentioned *The History of King James's Ecclesiastical Commission* (London, 1711), and J R Bloxam, ed , *Magdalen College and King James II, 1686-1688* (Oxf Hist Soc vol 6, Oxford, 1886)

101) "Observations upon y^{e} vindication of y^{e} Ecclesiasticall Commissioners" (BM, Add MSS 32520, f 106r)

102) Roger's position vis-à-vis the Catholics during James's reign can be deduced from three treatises, all of them written before the Revolution "Having Reflected upon y^{e} Mistakes & Ignorance of y^{e} Catholick Party" – "The weakness of the papists councells ffor promoting their Religion & power in England" – "y^{e} folly of y^{e} Roman Catholick party" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

103) "The weakness of the papists councells " (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

104) Ibid

105) *Lives*, III, pp 169 and 186

106) " you must understand y^{t} all the family [i e the Norths] are lovers of frugality and sobriety, and care not for compotations especially such where many and mixt companys meet" (Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 12, f 43v, letter of Hickes to Dr Arthur Charlett, 27 Feb 1689) See also *Lives*, III, p 172

107) There are hardly any references to Roger North in the diaries and autobiographies of persons prominent in James's reign (cf R C Neville, Lord Braybrooke, ed , *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston K B of Skreens*, Camden Society, no 23, London, 1845 and J Hunter, ed , *The Diary of Dr Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, Aug 1686 - Oct 1687*, Camden Society, no 22, London, 1843) It is very likely that Roger did attend musical performances in James's Catholic chapel at Whitehall (John Wilson, ed , *Roger North on Music*, London, 1959, p 51f)

108) Roger gives an amusing account of his being visited by a popish spy some time in 1688 (North papers, Rougham, 23C5) See also *Lives*, II, p 195

109) A cousin of the Earl of Sunderland's, a Mr Spencer, claimed that Elisabeth Wiseman had promised to marry him The Earl of Sunderland and Charles Lord North used threats to try and force Dudley and Roger into giving their consent to the marriage (many letters written in 1686 between Elisabeth Wiseman and her brothers Dudley and Roger and notes concerning this affair have been preserved, North papers, Rougham, 23C5 and 23D3)

110) BM, Add MSS 29580, ff 13r, 14r, 15r, letters RN to Lord Hatton, February and March 1687

111) *Lives*, III, p 69

112) "This cours of life gave S^{r} D N a taste of Country Retiredm^{t}, w^{ch} with a good Estate in England is an happyness y^{e} Ancients knew, when y^{e} vers - Nimium felices Agricolae, bona si sua Norunt [misquoted for "O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint Agricolas", Vergil, *Georgica* 2, 458] - was celebrated, but ffew with us who have not bin worne a litle in y^{e} world, & tyr'd with y^{e} hurrys of citty & court affaires Ever come to be well sensible of it" (BM, Add MSS 32512, f 160r, this passage does not occur in the printed version of Dudley's *Life*) See for a detailed discussion of the tendency towards retirement in the second half of the seventeenth century, M S Røstvig, *The Happy Man, studies in the metamorphosis of a classical ideal 1600-1700* (2 vols , Oslo, 1954)

113) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 11r, *Lives*, II, pp 138 and 238f

114) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 296r, R W T Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford* (14 vols , Oxford, 1923-1945, repr 1968), vol 10, "The Life and Work of Robert Hooke", p 80

115) Copy of a letter, in Roger's handwriting (undated) of Dudley, Montagu and Roger North to their brother-in-law Sir George Wenyeve, to whose place the brothers had sent Elisabeth to be out of the way (North papers, Rougham, 23D3)

116) Numerous papers and accounts relating to the financial position of Sir John Thorold and the Earl of Yarmouth (North papers, Rougham, 23C5 and 23D3)

117) For Roger's tracts on the dispensing power and the Ecclesiastical Commission see notes 86, 87, 89, 92 There are four versions of Roger's tract on praemunire (originally "A writ by which the sheriff is charged to summon a person accused of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England", but "the statute of praemunire was subsequently applied to various offences not connected with its original purpose", *OED*) BM, Add MSS 32520, f 74r (holograph), BM, Add MSS 40160, f 17r (transcript), Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 74r (transcript), Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D836, f 238r (transcript)

118) Roger considered the style of the second Declaration "somewhat low & not usuall ffor such acts of State" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5, "Of y^{e} Kings Indulgence") Cf R E Boyer, *English Declarations of Indulgence 1687 and 1688* (The Hague, 1968)

119) See Roger's essay on Passive Obedience and Non Resistance (BM, Add MSS 32529,

ff 79v-82r)

120) Roger was personally acquainted with the bishops Francis Turner of Ely and William Lloyd of Norwich ("Of y^e^ Kings Indulgence", North papers, Rougham 23C5, and Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 26, ff 12r and 56r, letters of Lloyd to Sancroft, March and June 1691)

121) "y^e^ folly of y^e^ Roman Catholick party" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

122) This notebook is among the North papers at Rougham. Roger's account is remarkably similar to the official version which James II ordered to be published immediately after the meeting, *At the Council-Chamber in Whitehall Monday the 22 of October 1688* (London, 1688) See also Howell, vol 12, pp 123 125

123) Cf Roger's essay on the militia, where he says that the invasion was talked about at least six weeks before it actually took place on 5 November (BM, Add MSS 32526, f 77v)

124) "The weakness of the papists councells " (North papers, Rougham, 23C5), in a one-page fragment entitled "The Revolution" Roger asserts that very probably the invasion would also have taken place even if discontent had not been so widespread in England (North papers, Rougham, 23C5)

125) Letter RN to Robert Foley, 14 Jan 1689 (BM, Add MSS 32500, f 90r)

126) Roger's name occurs in a list of the "knights, Citizens and Burgesses" elected as members of parliament of January 1689 (Bodleian Library, MS Carte 180, f 622r) See further *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 55 Various Collections, vol VII (1914)*, p 104, S W Singer, ed , *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, with the Diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690* (2 vols , London, 1828), vol 2, p 251, J H Plumb, "The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689", *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol 5, 1933 1937, pp 235-254

127) About this aspect of the Revolution see G M Trevelyan, *The English Revolution 1688-1689* (London, 1938, repr 1976), ch 5, J R Western, *Monarchy and Revolution the English State in the 1680s* (London, 1972), ch 9, J R Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (London, 1972), ch 11, J P Kenyon, *Revolution Principles* (Cambridge, 1977), chs 1, 2 and 3, George L Cherry, "The Legal and Philosophical Position of the Jacobites 1688-1689", *Journal of Modern History*, 22, Dec 1950, pp 309-321

128) Letter RN to Sancroft[9], 9 Jan 168$^{8}/_{9}$ (Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, ff 2v-3r)

129) This treatise, which is definitely Roger North's (see the letter mentioned in the previous note and see the Bodleian Library Catalogue of Tanner MSS) was probably presented by Roger to Archbishop Sancroft The treatise has three versions that are largely similar although the BM one is considerably longer than the other two BM, Add MSS 32520, f 132r, holograph, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 1, transcript, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D836, f 65, transcript

130) The treatise "Of parlements", which in my opinion was written by Roger (see also the Bodleian Library Catalogue of Tanner MSS), and which was probably intended as an attack on the validity of the convention, has four versions BM, Add MSS 32520, f 120r, holograph, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 15, transcript, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D1238, f 44, transcript, Bodleian Library, Eng Misc MSS f 1, transcript, See also *Lives*, III, p 112, where Roger refers to the convention as the "pretended parliament"

131) These views were also held by the majority of the House of Lords Tories (see Cherry, op cit)

132) The distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* monarchy was made at the beginning of 1689 by several Tories who were prepared to accept William as a king *de facto* (see Western, op cit , p 320f)

133) *Journals of the House of Lords 1578 1714*, [vols 2-19], 1767+, vol 14, p 394, Howell, vol 9, p 995, see also *Lives*, I, pp 209 210 Dudley North was examined both before the House of Lords and the House of Commons (*Lives*, II, pp 226-229 and *Examen*, p 620 f)

134) *Examen*, p 628 I have not been able to trace this pamphlet among the North papers, but on the basis of a comparison with *Examen*, pp 624-630, I suggest that the anonymous *A Letter concerning the Disabling Clauses lately Offered to the House of Commons for Regulating Corporations* (London, 1690) could well be the pamphlet in question

135) "A letter In ans^{r} to an Inquiry touching an act off paines & penaltys mentioned in y^{e} printed votes Jan 1689 [1690?]" (BM, Add MSS 32524, ff 1r-12r)

136) *Lives*, II, pp 191 and 231 232

137) For the Soames Bernardiston case see *Examen*, p 526 f and *Lives*, I, pp 72-74

138) *The late Lord Chief Justice North's Argument, in the Case between Sir W Soames and Sir S Barnardiston, adjudged in the court of Exchequer Chamber, containing the Reasons of that Judgement* (London, 1689), see also BM, MS Hargrave 339, f 50v and *Lives*, I, pp 74-75

139) Every office-holder who refused to take the oaths was to be suspended on 1 July 1689, deprivation would follow on 1 February 1690 if before that date the oaths had not been taken

140) See p 14 and note 117

141) "Of Respective Allegiance", BM, Add MSS 32520, f 158r, holograph, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D836, f 215, transcript "A Case upon y^{e} Statute for abrogating y^{e} oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy", BM, Add MSS 32523, f 70r, holograph, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 23, transcript "A resolution of questions about Bishops' deprivation", BM Add MSS 32523, f 78r, holograph, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 459, f 53, transcript, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C735, f 175, transcript

142) Information kindly supplied by the Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library See also *Lives*, III, pp 112 113

143) *Lives*, III, pp 121 122, Gutch, op cit , pp lx-lxii

144) Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 12, ff 49r-49v, letter of Hickes to Charlett, 7 July 1689 George Hickes (1642-1715), nonjuring divine and antiquarian scholar, was originally a friend of Francis North, see letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford?, 2 July 1717, in which Roger gives his correspondent information about Hickes's life (Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, ff 170v 171v)

145) Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, f 170v, letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford?, 2 July 1717

146) Ibid , Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 26, ff 12 and 16, letters of Bishop William Lloyd to Archbishop Sancroft, March 1691 See also G M Yould, "Two Nonjurors" [i e William Lloyd and Sir Christopher Calthorpe], *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol 35, 1970-1973, pp 364 381

147) Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 104, ff 220r-220v, letter RN to Dr Paman, 1 Oct 1690

148) "Deprived Ministers & Ministers Widdows Recommended" (BM, Add MSS 32502, ff 66r and 66v) In 1694 John Kettlewell drew up a "Model of a Fund of Charity for the Needy Suffering Clergy" and presented it to the bishops ([Francis Lee], *A Compleat Collection of the Works of J K* [John Kettlewell] *To which is prefix'd, The Life of the Author* (2 vols , London, 1719), vol 1, p 163 f)

149) Cf J H Overton, *The Non Jurors, Their Lives, Principles, and Writings* (London, 1902) in which the author makes an attempt to distinguish between religious and political nonjurors

150) *Lives*, II, pp 243-245

151) North papers, Rougham, 23D4

152) "In this bundle there are some curious particulars of Estates in Norfolk which R N thought of buying " (North papers, Rougham, 23C1)

153) North papers, Rougham, 23F5 and 23D3, see also Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (5 vols , Fersfield, 1739-1775), vol 5, p 1049 In the Forster Collection (number 420) at the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a six page account of Roger North's life at Rougham ("The domestick or retired life of the Honble Roger North ", dated 6 Sept 1826) in which the author, Mrs Boydell, a granddaughter of Roger North, states that the Rougham estate was about 3000 acres when her grandfather bought it However, the account contains so many mistakes that it cannot be regarded as a very reliable source of information

154) See for a description of Rougham manor B Cozens-Hardy, "Some Norfolk Halls", *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol 32, 1958 1961, p 196, H M Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840* (London, 1954), p 419

155) BM, Add MSS 32500, ff 114r, 116r, 117r 117v, 137r, letters RN to Robert Foley, 1691 (for a copy of BM, Add MSS 32500, f 137r see North papers, Norwich, 26C4, ff 256r-256v)

156) BM, Add MSS 32500, ff 117r 117v, letter RN to Robert Foley, 28 Oct 1691 (there is a printed version of this letter, *Lives*, III, pp 226 228)

157) BM, Add MSS 32500, f 116r, letter RN to Robert Foley, 10 Oct 1691

158) BM, Add MSS 32540, ff 1r 5r

159) Many of Roger s remarks about his retired life and his pursuits clearly contain an element of self justification "did Not y^{e} Greeks destroy Every Extraordinary good man they had? and so y^{e} Romans who by ill men were perswaded to banish Even Cicero, ffor what he did In p^{l}serving them I need Not come neerer home, unless to Referr this Reflection to a picture drawne by a poet In his alchemist, where the fools were made to take their cheaters part & drive away their freinds so is the world " (BM, Add MSS 32546, f 207r)

160) Montagu was released in October 1693 In the previous years Roger and Dudley had frequently tried to get him free (BM, Add MSS 29580, f 20r, a petition of Dudley North to William III)

161) See C A North, *Some Notes concerning the Life of the Right Honourable William Lord North of Carthlage and Baron Grey of Rolleston* (n p , 1890), a printed leaflet to be found among the North papers at Rougham

162) "we [i e Montagu and Roger] are busy a wife & husband hunting for Nevews & Nieces " (BM, Add MSS 32500, f 154r, letter of Montagu North to Mr and Mrs Foley, 9 Feb 1695) After 1691 Roger also looked after the business interests of his brother Dudley for some time, letters of Dudley's Turkey factors came to him (North papers, Rougham, 23C5, letter RN to ? , 7 Oct 1692)

163) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 228r

164) There is sufficient internal evidence for this in Roger's autobiography (*Lives*, III, pp 29, 136, 138) See also James L Clifford, "Roger North and the Art of Biography", *Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature*, C Camden, ed (Chicago and London, 1963), p 276 Peter T Millard, "An Edition of Roger North's 'Life of Dr John North' with a Critical Introduction", D Phil Oxford, Sept 1969, p 7, Lois G Schwoerer, "The Chronology of Roger North's Major Works", *History of Ideas News Letter*, III, no 4, 1957, p 76, John Wilson, ed , *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p 361

165) Mistress A Barrett (*Lives*, III, pp 28-30) and a sister of Lord Hatton (BM, Add MSS 29580, ff 14r, 15r, letters RN to Lord Hatton, February and March 1687)

166) "Testimoniall of my marriage" (North papers, Rougham, 23C1 and 23F2), see

also North papers, Norwich, 26C4, ff 91r-91v, letter of Dudleya North to her brother William, Lord North and Grey, June 1696 (partly printed in *Lives*, III, p 301) In her account of Roger North's life at Rougham (see note 153) Mrs Boydell states that Mary Gayer was "very handsome and had a fortune of eight thousand pounds"

167) A E Gayer, *Memoirs of the Family of Gayer* (Westminster, 1870), pp 23-28, R Gayre and R L Gair, *Gayre's Book, being a history of the family of Gayre* (Edinburgh and London, 1959), pp 51-57

168) The assassination plot of Sir John Fenwick and the Duke of Berwick's plot (David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, OUP Paperback 1969, p 426, pp 435-436 and pp 429-430)

169) Letters of Roger North's wife Mary to her niece Anne Foley, Sept and Oct 1714 and undated (BM, Add MSS 32501, ff 91r-92r, 93r, 213r 214r)

170) Letter of Montagu North to his sister Anne Foley, 14 Oct 1697 (BM, Add MSS 32500, ff 168r-168v)

171) See note 160

172) BM, Add MSS 32513, ff 169r-170r, this passage does not occur in the printed version of Dudley's *Life*

173) Letter of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll to RN, 11 June 1689, in which Roger was asked to prepare a lease for the benefit of John Ashton (North papers, Rougham, 23C5) Letters of Mary of Modena, by John Caryll to RN, 20 June 1696 and 12 June 1700 (Stuart Papers, Windsor, Warrant Book 3, RA M18, nos 245 and 276), in the first Caryll asked Roger to prepare a bill granting the office of Clerk of the Queen's Council to David Nairne, James's undersecretary, in the second Roger was asked to prepare a bill granting the office of Treasurer & Receiver-General of all the Queen's revenues to Robert Strickland, vice-chamberlain to Mary of Modena (See also *Historical Manuscripts Commission, 56 The Stuart MSS at Windsor Castle, vol I (1902)*, pp 114 and 149)

174) "A Copy of a letter conteining matter of law touching y^{e} parlt In 1694/5" (BM, Add MSS 32524, ff 14r 29r)

175) "A perswasion touching the oaths 30 Ap 1696 In a letter" (BM, Add MSS 32524, ff 29v-43r) and "A short Ans^{r} to a query Emerging upon y^{e} death of Jac 2" (BM, Add MSS 32524, ff 82v-87r, this last item does not occur in the BM Additional MSS Catalogue)

176) Prospects were brighter for the Tories and Jacobites under Queen Anne Roger refers to Queen Anne's reign as "this good Reigne" (BM, Add MSS 32529, f 69v)

177) *The Norfolk Lieutenancy Journal*, 1676-1715 and 1715-1750 [the printed version, which ceases in 1701, is vol 30 of the Norfolk Record Society, ed B Cozens-Hardy, 1961] From the report of 11 July 1722 it appears that the soldiers had discovered at Rougham "a pair of Pistolls in his Closett, a Fowling peice out of Order, A Back & Breast plate of iron in his pantry"

178) R W Ketton-Cremer, *A Norfolk Gallery* (London, 1948), pp 134-135

179) BM, Add MSS 32500, f 216r, BM, Add MSS 32501, f.13r, BM, Add MSS 32502, ff 36v-39v

180) In Roger's writings there are references to plays of Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Davenant, Howard, Sedley, Settle, Etherege, Wycherley and Dryden Roger's interest in plays was to a certain extent historical or antiquarian "And I may affirm boldly that there is more of the manners & language of an age to be gathered from Comedys " (BM, Add MSS 32529, f 230r) It is not unlikely that both before and after his retirement to Rougham Roger occasionally went to see plays, although theatre-going was not something ordinary in the North family, Roger always thinks it necessary to apologize for theatre visits of his brothers (North papers, Rougham, 23D3, letter of Dudley, Montagu, Roger North to their sister Elisabeth Wiseman, 9 Dec 1686 and St John's College Library, Cambridge, MS James 613, vol II "Cap of Ingenuitys" f 32) Furthermore there are references in Roger's

writings to Ariosto, Tasso, Montaigne, Pascal, Erasmus, Cervantes, Rabelais, Rapin, Boileau, Sir Thomas More, Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne

181) See especially BM, Add MSS 32529 and 32530 After Dudley's return from Turkey Roger advised Dudley to read "Tully's philosophies" (*Lives*, II, p 241)

182) In the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch, there is a long list of books purchased by Roger North in 1719 (HA 49, C IV, 2 b) In March 1726 William Lord North and Grey writes to his uncle from Brussels that he is trying to get hold of "the Spanish Books you write about" (North papers, Rougham, 23C1, letter 27 March 1726)

183) Wilson, op cit , pp xx-xxi and p 135 Letter of "Samuel Halsband" to RN about organ-pipes, 4 Jan $171^{8}/9$ (North papers, Rougham, 23F3)

184) Captain Prencourt, who had been musician in the Catholic chapel of James II, travelled round the country after the Revolution, and according to Wilson (op cit , p xxiii) Prencourt visited Rougham. There is a reference to a visit of a harpsichord-player in a letter from Roger to his nephew North Foley, 24 Feb $170^{8}/9$ (BM, Add MSS 32501, f 66r)

185) Wilson, op cit , pp 126 and 131

186) "I come In y^{e} sweetest Engin of travell y^{t} Ever was used, a chaise w^{ch} for one person is tout accomplie yet I must owne my self ashamed to ride in Such State thro london and shall Hack it from White Chappell . " (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 63r-63v, letter RN to Mrs Vernon, 21 May 1704)

187) Letter RN to one of his nieces, 7 March $170^{6}/7$ (BM, Add MSS 32503, f 107r), for Roger's ownership of Ashwicken see F Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols , London, 1805-1810), vol 8, p 338, R H Mason, *The History of Norfolk* (5 parts, London, 1884), pt 5, pp 64-67

188) For an account of Sir Christopher Calthorpe see G M Yould, op cit

189) "And since [it is] My humour to decline Conversation " (North papers, Rougham, "Cursory Notes of Musicke", "Premise")

190) *Lives*, III, p 196

191) "for this is a dull place as you know, and y^{r} uncle loves going abroad no better than usuall" (BM, Add MSS 32501, ff 213r-214r, letter of Roger's wife Mary to a niece, undated)

192) Letter of Roger's wife Mary to a niece, 11 Sept 1714 (BM, Add MSS 32501, ff 91r-92r) and letter RN to his niece Anne Foley, 21 March $172^{4}/5$ (BM, Add MSS 32501, f 196r)

193) William Lord North and Grey was sent abroad by his uncle Roger in 1695 or 1696 because he was heavily in debt, he returned to England in 1700, when he took his seat in the House of Lords After 1700 he fought several times on the Continent under Marlborough In 1722 he was accused of conspiracy because of his involvement in the Atterbury plot, he was sent to the Tower, but released soon after and he spent the rest of his life in exile abroad In 1728 he was converted to Roman Catholicism See C.A North, op cit

194) Letter RN to Philip Foley, 22 Dec 1706 (BM, Add MSS 32501, f 54r) This letter was also printed (*Lives*, III, pp 254-255)

195) "a few seeds I inclosed called y^{e} China Balsome flower (w^{ch} it may be may prove another Curiosity in Norfolk) " (BM, Add MSS 32501, ff 102r-102v, letter of Dudley Foley to RN, 22 Dec 1715) The letters between Roger and Dudley Foley were written between 1713 and 1717 (BM, Add MSS 32501, ff 86r-87r, 102r-103r, 106r-106v, 136r-137r) In his notebook of planting, felling, dyking etc Roger mentions fig-trees, vines and a melon-garden (BM, Add MSS 32505, ff 5v and 16r)

196) Clarke was chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich in the first decade of the eighteenth century

197) Fragments of a rough copy of a letter by Roger to Samuel Clarke, 27 Nov 1706

(BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 280v-283v and 287r-287v) It seems to me very likely that fragments of letters in BM, Add MSS 32547 (ff 382v-384v) and BM, Add MSS 32548 (ff 81v-87v) are also rough copies of letters by Roger to Samuel Clarke See also a letter by Roger North to the Rev Mr , undated (BM, Add MSS 32551, f 1v) "ffor I once had y^e^ favour of a short correspondence with him [i e Samuel Clarke] about some phisiologicall matters"

198) Letter of Dr Pepusch to RN, 21 August 1729, North papers, Rougham, letter-book (for a copy of this letter see North papers, Norwich, 26C4, ff 66r-66v)

199) Roger North wrote an extensive refutation of Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712) and Hickes, who wanted him to publish it, offered to prepare the manuscript for the press, but in the end it was never printed (two manuscript versions, BM, Add MSS 32550 and 32551)

200) Re the *Examen*, letter of Hickes to RN, 9 May 1710, North papers, Rougham, 23F2, letter of Hickes to RN, 15 Oct 1712, BM, Add MSS 32502, f 33r, letter of Hickes to RN, 27 July 1714, North papers, Rougham, letter book Re the *Scripture Doctrine*, letter of Hickes to RN (transcript), 23 May 1713, Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, f 170r (for another copy of this letter see BM, Add MSS 32551, f 34v) letter RN to Hickes, 2 June 1713, BM, Add MSS 32551, ff 35r-36v Re etymology, letter RN to Hickes, 12 Oct 1705, Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, ff 222r 223v

201) The tone of the letters between Roger North and Mrs Vernon is quite informal and bantering (see especially BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 17v-20r, 32r-32v, 63r-63v) Mrs Vernon also acted as a mediatrix between Roger North and Robert Gayer in their dispute about Stoke Poges (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 32r-32v, letter RN to Mrs Vernon, 2 May 1703)

202) These letters are among the North papers at Rougham Augustus Jessopp printed them, with the exception of ten letters, in his edition of the *Lives* (III, pp 267-280)

203) Cf Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son* (1656), Halifax, *Letter to a Daughter* (1688), Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to his Son* (1774) See for a discussion of the "parental advice" John E Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1935), chapters 3 and 4

204) G A Carthew, ed , *The Hundred of Launditch and Deanery of Brisley in the County of Norfolk* (3 parts, Norwich, 1877-1879), pt 3, p 305 Roger's way of personally managing the estate was quite exceptional at the time (see H J Habakkuk, "English Landownership, 1680-1740", *The Economic History Review*, 10, no 1, 1940, pp 9-10

205) "Memoranda of planting, felling, dyking etc in the lands and gardens of Rougham co Norfolk, by Roger North, 1691-1709" (BM, Add MSS 32505) The manuscript contains valuable information on various kinds of fruit and plants used at the time For Roger's experiments at Ashwicken see R H Mason, *The History of Norfolk* (5 parts, London, 1884), pt 5, p 64

206) Dudley 4th Baron North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), pp 84 104

207) See note 40

208) *A Discourse of Fish and Fish Ponds* (London, 1713), pp 72 and 74 (See also *The Gentleman Accomptant*, first published 1714, 3rd edition, London, 1721, p 95)

209) This point is also made by E Mackerness in his new edition of Jessopp's Lives, *Roger North The Lives of the Norths Edited by A Jessopp* (Farnborough, 1972), Introduction, p vii

210) See especially North papers, Rougham, 23C1, 23C5, 23D3, 23F3, 23F7 and 23F8

211) For Dr Henry Paman see BM, Add MSS 32502, f 27v, he died in 1695, for Sir Robert Gayer see the numerous letters of BM, Add MSS 32503, he died in 1702, for Sir George Wenyeve see BM, Add MSS 32502, f 194r, he died in 1706, for Montagu North see North papers, Norwich, 26C1, he died in 1710, for Dudleya North see North papers,

Norwich, 26C4, she died in 1712, for Mrs Anne Foley see North papers, Rougham, 23F3, she died in 1717, for Sir Nicholas L'Estrange see North papers, Rougham, 23C5, he died in 1724

212) C A North, op cit , pp 4-5, *Lives*, III, p 297

213) Letters RN (transcripts) to the Attorney-General and the Duchess of Marlborough, 7 Aug 1705 (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 92r-92v and 93r), letter RN (transcript) to William Lord North and Grey, 8 Aug 1705 (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 91r-91v) See also "Articles of Marriage between My LN&G and Madam Maria Margaretta D'Elmeet" (North papers, Rougham, 23C1)

214) The three executors were Bishop Lloyd (nonjuring bishop of Norwich), James Smith (probably the Roman Catholic prelate, who in 1687 was appointed by James II to be one of the four vicars-apostolic of England) and Roger North, who had to do all the practical work (North papers, Rougham, 23D3)

215) Robert, the eldest son, violently opposed his father's will which stipulated that the estate should be sold, letter RN ("Not sent", partly holograph, partly transcript) to the Earl of Anglesey, undated, BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 1v-3v

216) Sir Robert Gayer was a lover of pictures and had acquired a large collection (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 112r-112v and BM, Add MSS 32504, ff 33v-35r) See also R Gayre and R L Gair, op cit , p 52 and North papers, Norwich, 26C2

217) Decree of the Court of Chancery of 25 October 1706 (A E Gayer, op cit , pp 26 27) Letter RN to Sir William Rich, 13 Dec 1706 (BM, Add MSS 32503, f 104v) For various reasons there was considerable delay in the carrying out of the decree ("Writ of Queen Anne to Roger North, William Lloyd for the carrying out of a decree in Chancery concerning the will of Sir R Gayer of Stoke Poges, 1 May 1708", North papers, Rougham 23C5)

218) Roger was well acquainted with Horatio Walpole, "the black colonel", who died in 1717 (G A Carthew, ed , *Extracts from a MS Diary of Peter Le Neve Esq* , Ipswich, 1847, p 16)

219) Letter RN to Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, 18 Nov 1703 (BM, Add MSS 32503, f 50r)

220) See especially letter RN to Mrs Walpole, 15 June 1703, letter RN to Mrs Walpole, 18 Oct 1703, letter RN to Robert Walpole, 5 Nov 1704 (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 34v 37v, 43r-44v, 80r)

221) Roger's anger clearly appears from his letter to Mrs Walpole, 30 Oct 1703 (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 45r-46r)

222) See the large volume of "MSS arguments" preserved among the North papers at Rougham

223) ' Rougham church, An acc^{o} of the Repaires" (North papers, Rougham, 23B4)

224) Letter RN to ' Mrs Salter", undated (BM, Add MSS 32503, ff 13r-13v)

225) Ibid , see also letter RN to ' Edward Bedingfield", 6 Dec 1702 (BM, Add MSS 32503, f 9r)

226) North papers, Rougham, 23A2, 23A3, 23A4, 23A5, 23B1, 23B2, 23B4, 23B5, 23B6, 23E2, 23E3, 23E4, 23E5

227) *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol 9, 1880-1884, p 359 (Appendix)

228) [manuscript-notes for] "a history of Rougham", "Monumentall Inscriptions upon Grave stones In the church & chancell of Rougham", "Some Antiquitys Relating to The Church of Rougham", "Of The Rectory of Rougham" (North papers, Rougham, 23B4)

229) North papers, Rougham, 23B4 Roger also corresponded with Peter Le Neve, president of the Society of Antiquaries, about antiquities of the law, BM, MS Egerton 2721, f 467, letter RN to Peter Le Neve, 13 Jan 1721, this letter was printed by Francis Rye in his *Calendar of correspondence and documents relating to the family of Oliver Le Neve,*

of Witchingham, Norfolk, 1675-1743 (Norwich, 1895), p.169.

230) N.R. Ker, ed., *The Parochial Libraries of the Church of England* (London, 1959), Part I, Historical Introduction.

231) "A Draught of the foundation of the parochial library at Rougham" (North papers, Rougham, 23F2).

232) "Statutes and ordinancies of the parochiall Library of y^{e} parish church of Rougham In the county of Norfolk appointed and Established by y^{e} Honble Roger North founder thereof, to be observed by all persons whatsoever for Ever" (North papers, Rougham, 23B4).

233) Letter Dudleya to her brother William Lord North and Grey, 6 March 1704 (North papers, Norwich, 26C4, ff.107r-107v). Dudleya stayed at Rougham for longer periods.

234) See G.Ballard, *Memoirs of several Ladies of Great Britain* (Oxford, 1752), pp. 414-415.

235) Letter RN to his nephew Lord Guilford, 14 March 171^{4}/5 (Bodleian Library, MS. North c.10, ff.103r-104v); "Acc^{t} of S^{r} Christopher Calthorpes Benefaction to Rougham Parochial Library" (North papers, Rougham, 23C5).

236) N.R. Ker, ed., *The Parochial Libraries of the Church of England* (London, 1959), p.96.

237) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.4v; see for the pleasure writing gave him also the "Premise" to the "Cursory Notes of Musicke" (North papers, Rougham).

238) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.3v.

239) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.2r.

240) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.4r.

241) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.68r; BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.81r and 87v-88r; BM, Add. MSS.32548, f.1v. In his answer to Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine* of 1713 Roger tells him that he is working on a book on natural philosophy and that in future he will perhaps have to "make use of your friendship to accomplish it" (BM, Add.MSS.32550, f.31r).

242) "And yet willing to p^{r}serve y^{e} Result of my thinking I have chose y^{e} method of Essays to discharge my mind" (BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.1v; from internal evidence it is clear that this manuscript was written about 1724).

243) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.3v.

244) Letter RN to his son Montagu, 2 June 1733 (North papers, Rougham, letter-book; this letter was also printed, *Lives*, III, p.278).

245)"wherein I shall Gain an exquisite Pleasure in Reviving the Ideas of my happy time when he [i.e. Francis] lived" (BM, Add.MSS.32520, f.210v); BM, Add.MSS.32525, f.59v f. See also Millard, op.cit., p.27.

246) BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.229v and 233r.

247) See the ten-volume life and writings of the Lord Keeper, St. John's College Library, Cambridge, MS. James 613.

248) BM, Add.MSS.32538, f.2r f.; BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.306r; BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.232v; *The Gentleman Accomptant*, p.7.

249) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.2r; "The circumstances of my education and cours of life will priveledg me in that supine sort of wrighting called Essays, being much of late In use, Especially when Gentlemen scribble, who care Not to be confined to such strickt order & method, as compleat tracts p^{r}tend too" (BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.4v).

250) BM, Add.MSS.32522, ff.1r-26r; there are references to the "new Philosophy", to Descartes's *Discourse on Method* and to Horace on style. See also W.Letwin, "The Authorship of Sir Dudley North's *Discourses on Trade*", *Economica*, 18, 1951, pp.35-56. Letwin also assigns the preface to Roger North and argues, on the basis of the preface, that Roger North should be listed among the early free-traders.

251) G.A.Starr, "Roger North and the *Arguments and Materials for a Register of Estates*",

British Museum Quarterly, 31, 1966, pp 17 19

252) North papers, Rougham, 23C5 and BM, Add MSS 32529, f 122r f

253) See, apart from the preface to the *Reflections*, BM, Add MSS 32529, f 32r f and BM, Add MSS 32530, ff 32v 35v

254) "Done out of French By a Person of Honour Printed by G Croom, for R Smith at the Angel and Bible, without Temple-Bar, and John Chantry over-against Exeter change in the Strand 1701" (in the BM General Catalogue no authorship is given)

255) BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 114r 121v has parts of the translation of both the first and the second volume of the *Reflexions* (Roger discusses the style of de Villiers in BM, Add MSS 32530, f 48r), the book occurs in a list of books that probably belonged to Roger North junior (North papers, Rougham, 23F2)

256) Pierre de Villiers S J , 1648 1728, prior at Saint Taurin, published the *Reflexions* in 1690 (Paris) He wrote several works about religion, morality and literature See A A De Backer & C Sommervogel , eds , *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus* (11 tom , Paris, 1890-1932) and also the *Bibliotheque Nationale Catalogue des Livres Imprimes*

257) See "The Translator Adds" [i e to 'The Author's Preface"]

258) T F P Gent [translator], *The Life and Character of M^r J Locke* (London, 1706)

259) [John Somers], ed , *State Tracts* (first published 1689, 2 parts, London, 1693), White Kennett, *A Complete History of England* (3 vols , London, 1706)

260) This tract was, in 1740, reprinted at the back of the *Examen*, it is also referred to by Hickes in a letter to White Kennett, Nov 1711 (Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, f 154r) In the BM General Catalogue it is mentioned as part of *Examen*, and it occurs separately under Jean Le Clerc but there no authorship is given

261) See the "Introduction" to *A Discourse of Fish and Fish Ponds*

262) Allan Cooper, Roger North, an early East Anglian fishing expert", *East Anglian Magazine*, 26, no 5, March 1967, pp 166-168

263) See also BM, Add MSS 32540, f 66r

264) *The Gentleman Accomptant* (London, 1721), pp 7, 16-17, 41, 62-64

265)*A Discourse of the Poor* (London, 1753), Preface, p vi, it is very likely that Roger, who received most of Dudley's papers on the latter's death, utilized them for his own essays and tracts

266) Cf Dudley's "Some Notes Concerning y^e Laws ffor the poor" (BM, Add MSS 32512, ff 124v-130v) and also BM, Add MSS 32522, ff 29v 32v

267) *A Discourse of the Poor*, pp 7 and 61 There are clear resemblances between Roger's *Discourse* and Sir Josiah Child's *Proposals for the Relief and Employment of the Poor* (London, 1670?)

268) See also BM, Add MSS 32529, f 91r f , Francis C Gore, "A Seventeenth Century Barrister", *Quarterly Review*, 260, 1933, pp 94 109, Lois G Schwoerer, "Roger North and his Notes on Legal Education", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 22, 1958-1959, pp 323-343 Francis North had also written some pages on the subject, "On y^e study of y^e Common Law" (BM, Add MSS 32519, ff 100r-102r) and "An Essay towards the study of the law" (St John's College Library, Cambridge, MS James 613, vol II "Cap Benevolences", ff 47-56)

269) In John Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, pp xxxvi-lxii

270) Parts of BM, Add MSS 32531, 32532, 32534, 32535, 32536, 32537 and the Hereford Cathedral Library MS R II xlii

271) Walter E Houghton Jr , "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3, no 1 and no 2, 1942, pp 51-73 and 190-219

272) *Lives*, III, p 86

273) Houghton, op cit , p 54

274) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 2r

275) See for instance the "Preface" to *The Gentleman Accomptant*

276) The relation between the fine arts and the scientific movement in the period 1660-1714 is discussed by G.N. Clark in his *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (Oxford,1937, repr. 1970), pp.70-73

277) See the "Preface" to the *Examen.*

278) Roger North himself sometimes uses the term "virtuoso" in a slightly derogatory way (BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.30v).

279) Dirck or Theodorus Ferreris, 1639-1693 (Thieme & Becker, op.cit.), for Roger's contacts with Ferreris see BM, Add.MSS.32504, ff.19r-19v.

280) Hardly anything is known of Sonnius, except that he finished most of Lely's pictures. Roger refers a few times to him (North papers, Rougham, 23C5 and *Lives*, III, pp.192-193), and in 1682 and 1683 Roger made several payments to Sonnius (Childs & Co., Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, London, Ledger 1677-1682, f.336v and Ledger 1681-1687, f.116v).

281) There are some references to transactions between Roger North and Michael Wright in the "The Executors' Account Book of Sir Peter Lely 1679-1691" (BM, Add.MSS.16174, f.82v) Childs & Co (Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, London), Ledger 1688-1732 has payments by Roger North to Henry Tilson in 1686, 1691 and 1694 (ff.23r, 78v, 92v). In the same ledger there is also a payment to a "M[r] Snelling" in 1691 (f.91v), who may well have been the painter because Roger possessed some portraits by Snelling (BM, Add.MSS. 32504, ff.23v, 65r). For accounts of Wright and Tilson see C.H.C. Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters* (2 vols., London, 1912), E.K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (Penguin Books, 1953), M.D. Whinney and O. Millar, eds., *English Art, 1625-1714*, vol. 8 of *The Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford, 1957).

282) BM, Add.MSS.32504, ff.18v and 31v-32r.

283) Roger claimed to have original paintings by d'Arpino, Bassano, Paolo Fiamingo, Mario del Fiore, Phillippa Laura, Miranda of Venice, Guido Reni, Salvator Rosa, Tintoretti, Titian, Paolo Veronese, Blemwell, Van Dyck, Lely, Henry Stone, Tilson, Wright, Bloemart, Jan Both, Breugel, Paul Brill, Dankers, Ferreris, Knijff, Mompaert, Rembrandt, Saftleven, Snelling, Gerard Soest, Sonnius, Van der Vaart (BM, Add.MSS 32504).

284) R. Gayre and R.L. Gair, op.cit., p.52.

285) Roger bought pictures out of the Duke of Norfolk's collection and in January 1699 he bought two pictures at Bartholomew's Coffee-house from a Genoese (see further BM, Add.MSS.32504)

286) BM, Add.MSS.32504, f 37v f.

287) BM, Add.MSS.32538, ff.47v, 76v, 84v, 94v, 100v; Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), either *Buch uber die Proportionen des Menschen* (1528) or *Unterweisung der Messung* (1525), Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), *Le Vite de' più eccelenti Architetti, Pittori e Scultori...* (Florence, 1550); Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745) published in 1715 *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* and in 1719 *Two Discourses* (i.e. *An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism in Relation to Painting* and *An Argument in behalf of the science of a Connoisseur*).

288) BM, Add.MSS.32538, f.97r.

289) H.M. Colvin, "Roger North and Sir Christopher Wren", *The Architectural Review*, 110, no.658, Oct 1951, pp.257-260. H.M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840* (London, 1954), pp.418-419. H.M. Colvin, "Aubrey's *Chronologia Architectonica*", *Concerning Architecture*, John Summerson, ed. (London, 1968), pp.1-12.

290) The first ("Of Building" and "Architecture") is at the British Library (BM, Add. MSS.32540, ff.1r-80v), the second ("Cursory Notes of Building occasioned by the Repair, or rather Metamorfosis of an old hous in The Country") is among the North papers at Rougham The second is largely similar to the first, although it is longer and more technical.

291) Roger was familiar with Desaguliers's *Fires Improved, being a new Method of Building Chimneys, so as to prevent their Smoaking* (London,1716); BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.122r.

292) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.7v.

293) "Cursory Notes of Building" (North papers, Rougham, f.91).

294) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.31r.

295) BM, Add.MSS.23005, ff.11r-14r.

296) BM, Add.MSS.32504, ff.54r-56r. Within a month after the fire Wren had worked out an ambitious plan for a rebuilding of Whitehall, but it was not accepted and the burnt-down parts were never rebuilt. Apart from Wren's, two other rebuilding-plans are extant (Whinney and Millar, op.cit., p.323). I have not been able to find out whether Roger made this scheme for his private diversion or not.

297) The courtier in question was Sir William Soames (BM, Add.MSS.32546, ff.168r-168v and BM, Add.MSS.32549, f.104v).

298) BM, Add.MSS.32541, ff.17r-17v.

299) Letter RN to Robert Foley, 10 Feb. 1699 [i.e. 1699/1700] (BM, Add.MSS.32500, f.191r).

300) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.202v and BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.218r.

301) See especially BM, Add.MSS.32541 and BM, Add.MSS.32542. For some remarks on Roger North's familiarity with contemporary engines see *The Collected Papers of Rhys Jenkins*, printed for the Newcomen Society (Cambridge, 1936), pp.40-42.

302) BM, Add.MSS.32504, f.52r.

303) In a letter to his sister Anne Foley, 3 June 1713, Roger ordered barometer-tubes (BM, Add.MSS.32501, ff.84r-85r).

304) "Essay of the Barometer" (BM, Add.MSS.32541); "The Air-Gager" (BM, Add.MSS. 32542); "An Essay concerning the Reason and use of y^{e} Baroscope" (BM, Add.MSS. 32543). For the aphorisms and rules of weather-prognostication see BM, Add.MSS.32541, ff.245r-283r.

305) BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.5v, 16r, 96v-97r.

306) Letter RN to Hickes, 12 Oct. 1705 (Bodleian Library, MS. Eng.Hist. b.2, ff.222r-223v). Ranulf de Glanville, the famous twelfth-century judge and reputed author of the "Treatise on the laws & customs of England".

307) Letter RN to Hilkiah Bedford?, 2 July 1717 (Bodleian Library, MS. Eng.Hist. b.2, ff.170v-171v). For some of the questions examined by Roger North see the same manuscript, ff.224r-232v.

308) "Ordinary Etimology is understood in No greater latitude, then the meer interpretation of words by y^{e} Means of their radicall derivation & composition, but the Extension of it adds all truths, If Evident, Els well Grounded probabilitys, that any way Relate to the Invention, composition, & y^{e} use of words, without w^{ch} I doe pronounce an Etimology to be but Imperfect" (BM, Add.MSS.32530, ff.2v-3r).

309) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.161r.

310) Ibid., ff.127v-163r.

311) Ibid., ff.129r-129v; Selden was according to Roger North one of the few who could not only collect, but could also judge material.

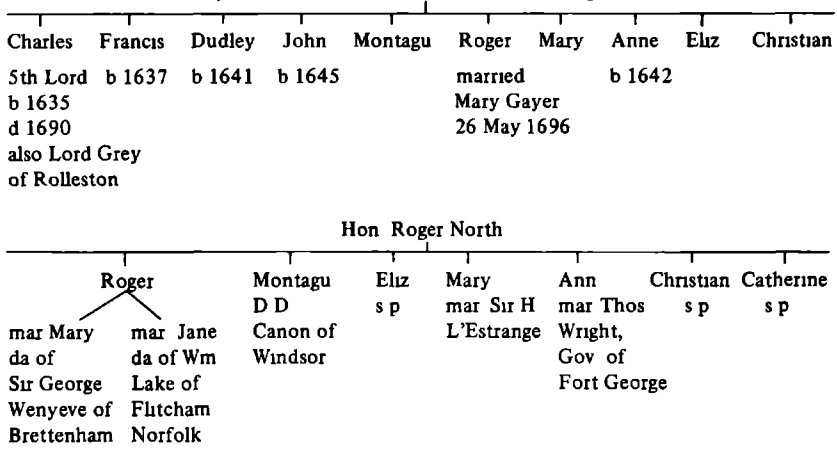
312) For a treatment of Anglo-Saxon and medieval scholarship between 1660 and 1730 see David C. Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (first published 1939, London, 1951).

313) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.115r.

314) Ibid., ff.115v-146v.

315) *The Gentleman Accomptant*, pp.211-233.

316) For the dates of birth of Roger North's children see letter of Thomas Calvert, curate at Rougham, to James Crossley, 3 Nov. 1838, BM, Add.MSS.32502, f.242r (see further *Lives*, I, p.8 and *Lives*, III, pp.307-309). Bodleian Library, MS. North c.25 (ff.72v-73r) has the following North pedigree:



317) Letter RN to his son Montagu, 27 April 1728 (North papers, Rougham, letter-book), this letter was also printed (*Lives*, III, p 267)

318) Somerset House, Wills, P C C Roger North, 1734, Norfolk f 223 (for copies of the will see North papers, Rougham, 23A1, 23D3 and 23F6) There were two codicils to the will, dated 6 Jan 1731 and 14 Oct 1733 (see also North papers, Rougham, 23A1 and 23F5)

319) In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1734 (p 164) under the heading "Deaths in March" occurs the entry "March 1 Roger North, of the Inner Temple Esq aged 90" In the *London Magazine* or *Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* for the same year (p 155) under the heading "Deaths in March" the same entry appears

320) See F Blomefield, op cit , vol 8, p 338 and R H Mason, op cit , pt 5, pp 64-67

321) Sir Nicholas L'Estrange was one of the god-parents of Roger's son Montagu (BM, Add MSS 32501, f 82r, letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, 19 Dec 1712) For an account of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange see David Cherry, "Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, Non-juror", *Original Papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*, vol 34, 1966-1969, pp 314-330

322) W W Rouse Ball and J A Venn, eds , *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge* (London, 1911), vol III, p 67

323) Roger North junior was interested in medicine, arithmetic, architecture and antiquarianism ("Miscellaneous Papers, Roger North Trin Cant 1721", North papers, Rougham, uncatalogued)

324) Letter RN to his sister Anne Foley, 19 Dec 1712 (BM, Add MSS 32501, f 82r)

325) *Lives*, III, p 307

326) "I give to my son Mountague all my musick books & papers & the Glas case in y^{e} Gallery" (2nd codicil, 14 Oct 1733, see note 318) Cf also Millard, op cit , p 30

Chapter II

1) Apart from the music manuscripts the manuscripts dealing wholly or in part with science are BM, Add MSS 32514, 32520, 32523, 32526, 32538, 32539, 32540, 32541, 32542, 32543, 32544, 32545, 32546, 32547, 32548, 32549, and "Cursory Notes of Musicke", "Cursory Notes of Building", and "Some Hints towards a Systeme of Mechanicks" (23D4), North papers, Rougham

2) The *Lives* contain occasional references to scientific subjects

3) The whole of BM, Add MSS.32540 was very probably written early in the 1690s, because in the essay "Of Building" (ff.1r-68v) Roger refers to his being engaged in the rebuilding of Rougham manor (f.20v) and to his being unmarried (f.22r), and because in the rest of the manuscript Roger does not mention Newton, which is a remarkable point of difference with the other manuscripts on science where Newton constantly figures as a danger; the "dissertation of the new and moderne (new) philosofye" (BM, Add.MSS. 32514, ff 62r-125v) is dated "1728".

4) I have tried to establish the dates of composition by examining the watermarks, but that did not prove to be very helpful. I have therefore relied exclusively on internal evidence.

5) Some manuscripts, for example BM, Add.MSS.32538, 32539 and 32547 are fairly homogeneous units, other manuscripts, such as BM, Add MSS.32526 and 32549, are mixtures of various unrelated subjects.

6) See chapter I, p.3.

7) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.2r.

8) *Lives*, III, p.24, in his book *Mechanick Dyalling* (London, 1668) Joseph Moxon, one of the seventeenth-century experts in the field, gives the following definition. "Dyalling originally is a Mathematicall Science, attained by the Philosophicall contemplation of the motion of the Sun, the motion of the Shaddow, the Constitution of the Sphere, the Scituation of Planes, and the Consideration of Lines" (p.3).

9) E.G R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England 1485-1714* (Cambridge, 1970), p.183.

10) *Lives*, III, p.25, for John Speidell see Taylor, op.cit., p.195.

11) BM, Add.MSS 32538, f.5r.

12) See chapter I, pp.3-4

13) Cf. Phyllis Allen, "Scientific Studies in the English Universities of the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10, 1949, pp.219-254, John Magirus, *Physiologiae Peripateticae* (1597), Daniel Sennertus, *Epitome Naturalis Scientiae* (1618).

14) *Lives*, III, p 15

15) *Lives*, II, p.307 and *Lives*, III, p.16; see also BM, Add.MSS.32538, f.4r.

16) BM, Add.MSS 32506, f 19v.

17) *Lives*, III, p.15.

18) Assuming an early date for large parts of the autobiography (see note 164 to chapter I) one can only conclude that Roger's remarks about Newton's theory of light and colours in the autobiography were based on a reading of Newton's paper for the Royal Society, because Newton's *Opticks* appeared in 1704. For Newton's paper see T. Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London* (4 vols., London 1756-7), vol. 3, p.9.

19) *Lives*, III, p 25, John Wilkins, *Mathematicall Magick, or the Wonders that may be performed by Mechanicall Geometry* (2 parts, London, 1648).

20) *Lives*, III, p.61.

21) *Lives*, III, p.24.

22) BM, Add.MSS.32506, f.66r John Wallis, *A Treatise of Algebra* (London, 1684-5); William Oughtred, *Clavis Mathematica* (1631), "Jault" is perhaps Roger North's spelling of "Jole", Robert Jole or Choule was a mathematical instrument maker who wrote on arithmetic For Oughtred and Jole see Taylor, op.cit., pp.192-193, p.260, p.347.

23) *Lives*, II, p.298.

24) *Lives*, III, p 14.

25) *Lives*, II, p.307, BM, Add.MSS.32514, "Notes of D[r] North", ff.167r-227v.

26) *Lives*, II, p.308, BM, Add MSS.32516, f.75r.

27) See note 42 to chapter I and also John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p.45.

28) For extensive descriptions of these virtuosi see *Lives*, I, pp.372-376.

29) *Lives*, II, p 7

30) See chapter I, pp 6 and 13

31) See chapter I, pp 6, 7 and 26

32) See chapter I, p 5

33) Cf F C Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol 4, *Modern Philosophy Descartes to Leibniz* (Image Books, New York, 1963), pp 22 23

34) An example of "natural philosophy" in the wide sense can be found in BM, Add MSS 32526 (f 2v), an example of "natural philosophy" in the meaning of "physics" can be found in BM, Add MSS 32514 (ff 91v 92r) Roger uses the term "physiology" in the sense of "the study and description of natural objects" or "natural science"

35) Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal Society of London*, Jackson I Cope and Harold Whitmore Jones, eds (London and St Louis, 1959), p 56

36) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 194r

37) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 82r

38) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 84v

39) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 82v

40) See note 18

41) BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 68v-70r, BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 9v-11v, BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 92v-95v, BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 40r-42r

42) The atomists were those who adhered to the doctrine of the formation of all things from indivisible particles endued with gravity and motion, this doctrine was taught by Democritus and Epicurus The peripatetics were the disciples of Aristotle, the term was derived from Aristotle's habit to teach while walking about (Paul Edwards, ed , *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 8 vols , New York and London, 1967)

43) Ramus or Pierre de la Ramee (1515 1572), French humanist known for his attacks on Aristotle William Gilbert (1540-1603), physicist and physician famous for his discoveries on magnetism Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), French philosopher and scientist who revived the Epicurean theory of atoms

44) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 69r

45) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 67r, see also BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 24r-24v

46) *Lives*, III, p 21

47) BM, Add MSS 32522, f 3r, see also the preface to Dudley North's *Discourses upon Trade*

48) In *The Sceptical Chymist*, first published in 1661, Boyle put forward his corpuscular theory of matter Roger may refer to this work or, more probably, to the essay "Some Occasional Thoughts about the Excellency and Grounds of the Mechanical Hypothesis", *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, Thomas Birch, ed (5 vols , London, 1744), vol 4, pp 67-78 For Boyle's part in establishing the mechanical philosophy see Marie Boas, "The Establishment of the Mechanical Philosophy", *Osiris*, 10, 1952, pp 503-504 In BM, Add MSS 32545 (f 228v) Roger calls Boyle "the demonstrator (tho Not y^{e} Inventor) of corpuscular philosofy"

49) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 88r

50) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 1v

51) BM, Add MSS 32522, f 3v, BM, Add MSS 32538, ff 2r-2v

52) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 38r, BM, Add MSS 32535, f 7r, BM, Add.MSS 32540, f 88v, BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 12v-13r

53) See chapter I, p 23

54) *Lives*, III, p 21

55) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 65v f , BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 14r-14v

56) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 194r

57) BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 172r-172v, see also BM, Add MSS 32526, f 98r In the

Prefatory Letter to the *Principles of Philosophy* Descartes describes the relation between metaphysics and physics as one between roots and trunk, while all the other sciences are the branches that grow out of the trunk (C Adam & P Tannery, eds , *Œuvres des Descartes*, XII tom , Paris, 1897-1913, IX B, p 14, this edition will hereafter be referred to as A T)

58) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 31r

59) BM, Add MSS 32540, ff 84v-85v

60) BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 91r-91v, the materia prima et secunda, the chemical elements and the vires will be dealt with on respectively p 44, p 45 and pp 41-42 of this chapter and in the corresponding notes

61) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 110r BM, Add MSS 32523, f 269r, BM, Add MSS 32544, f 9r

62) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 13r

63) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 29r

64) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 64v

65) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 26r

66) BM, Add.MSS 32541, ff 36v-37r

67) BM, Add MSS 32522, f 2v, see also the preface to Dudley North's *Discourses upon Trade* In the text and the notes the English titles of Descartes's works are given because Roger North himself constantly uses the English titles For a discussion of the influence of Descartes's *Discourse on Method* upon English scientists and philosophers see Marjorie H Nicolson, "The Early Stage of Cartesianism in England", *Studies in Philology*, 26, 1929, pp 356-374 and S P Lamprecht, "The Rôle of Descartes in Seventeenth-Century England", *Columbia University Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol III, 1935, pp 181-240

68) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 107r

69) BM, Add MSS 32540, ff 87v-88v

70) BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 115r-115v

71) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 272v

72) BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 75v-77r

73) Cf Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800* (London, 1949), ch 6, A R Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500 1800* (2nd edition, London, 1962), ch 6, and *From Galileo to Newton 1630 1720* (Fontana Science, London, 1970), ch 4 (the latter book will hereafter be referred to as Hall [Fontana])

74) *A Discourse on Method*, part VI, A T VI, pp 60-78 In his "Experience and the Non-Mathematical in the Cartesian Method", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 2, 1941, pp 183-210, Alan Gewirtz tries to prove that Descartes attached more importance to experience and experiment than has generally been assumed

75) *Opticks*, introduction by E Whittaker (Dover Books, London, 1952), p 404

76) For a discussion of the plenum and vortication see respectively pp 40 41 and p 54

77) BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 122v-123r, BM, Add MSS 32544, f 9r, BM, Add MSS 32545, f 155v, BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 55v 56v

78) Cf Copleston, op cit , p 27, and A R Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500-1800* (2nd edition, London, 1962), p 164f

79) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 106v

80) BM, Add MSS 32547, ff 73v 74r

81) Cf Robert K Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England", *Osiris*, 4, 1938, pp 360-632, ch III, A R Hall, *The Scientific Revolution, 1500-1800* (2nd edition, London, 1962), pp 224-225, Taylor, op cit , p 132, Margaret Espinasse, "The Decline and Fall of Restoration Science", *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Charles Webster, ed (London and Boston, 1974), pp 347-368

82) "An Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning", *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot*, G A Aitken, ed (Oxford, 1892), pp 409-435

83) Ibid , p 418

84) Taylor, op cit , pp 145-146

85) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 64v-67r, BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 29v 30v and f 101v, letter RN to his son Montagu, 26 November 1733, North papers, Rougham, letter book

86) BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 64r-64v

87) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 215r

88) BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 63v-64v

89) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 30v

90) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 157v

91) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 36v

92) For example see John Locke, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, John W Yolton, ed (2 vols , Everyman's Library, 1967), vol 2, p 241

93) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 21v

94) BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 28r 28v

95) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 65v, BM, Add MSS 32542, f 21v BM, Add MSS 32545, f 14v

96) *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*, IV, A T , X, p 379

97) BM, Add MSS 32520, f 274r, BM, Add MSS 32526, f 66v, BM, Add MSS 32547, f 185r

98) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 88v

99) BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 100r-100v It is interesting to note the resemblance between these remarks on Roger's part and some of the arguments used against those who claimed that great advances had been made in human learning, by Thomas Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning* (2nd edition, London, 1700)

100) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 138r

101) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 100r, Nicolas Malebranche, *De la Recherche de la Verite*, G Lewis, ed (3 tom , Paris, 1945), Livre Sixieme, Premiere Partie, chapitre V, pp 180-188

102) "I must Repeat that I am a Naturalist & Not a geometer therefore I leave the Calcules to such as are capable & delight in them" (BM, Add MSS 32545, f 79v)

103) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 255v, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 30v

104) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 31r When Robert Boyle died in 1691 he left money for an annual series of eight sermons or lectures to prove the truth of Christianity against atheists Samuel Clarke delivered this lecture in 1705, and it subsequently went through various editions For discussions of the Boyle Lectures from various angles see Rosalie L Colie, "Spinoza in England, 1665 1730", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107, 1963, pp 183-219, Robert E Schofield, *Mechanism and Materialism* (Princeton, 1970), pp 20-24, Margaret C Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689-1720* (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1976), ch 4 and ch 5

105) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 70r

106) An example is to be found in BM, Add MSS 32545 (f 29r)

107) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 111r

108) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 106v, BM, Add MSS 32545, f 26v, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 54r

109) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 24v and f 27r, see also BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 106v-107r

110) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 87v

111) BM, Add MSS 32534, f 2r, BM, Add MSS 32542, f 21r, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 55r

112) Cf Sprat, op cit , p 384 and William Derham, *Physico-Theology* (London, 1713), p 38

113) There were more people at the time who did not realize the importance of the microscope, for example the famous physician Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689), for Sydenham see R M Yost jr , "Sydenham's Philosophy of Science", *Osiris*, 9, 1950, pp 84-105

114) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 181v

115) BM, Add MSS 32516, f 76r

116) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 27r Robert Hooke (1635-1703), whose *Micrographia*

(1665) was one of the standard works on microscopy, Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694), a well-known Italian microscopic anatomist, Nehemiah Grew (1641-1712), famous for his researches into the structure of plants

117) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 27r

118) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 26v and f 178r

119) BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 123v 133r

120) See note 74

121) BM, Add MSS 32516, f 75r

122) See Sprat, op cit , pp 35-36

123) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 214r

124) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 94r

125) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 177v

126) See Butterfield, op cit , p 90

127) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 125v, BM, Add MSS 32542, f 14v Perhaps Roger's low esteem of the Royal Society had also something to do with the Puritan background of many of its early members

128) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 230r

129) See Dorothy Stimson, "The Critical Years of the Royal Society, 1672 1703", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 2, 1947, pp 283-298 and Dorothy Stimson, *Scientists and Amateurs* (New York, 1948), ch 6 and ch 7

130) Summaries of the main tenets of Descartes's science and philosophy can be found in Lamprecht, op cit , (pp 210-224) and Schofield, op cit , (pp 4-5)

131) The last two aspects will be dealt with in the third section of this chapter

132) See p 34

133) For discussions of More's views in this respect see Kurd Lasswitz, *Geschichte der Atomistik* (2 Bande, Hamburg und Leipzig, 1890), II, pp 532 537, and E A Burrt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (London, 1932), pp 129 139 For the Cambridge Platonists see C A Patrides, ed , *The Cambridge Platonists* (London, 1969)

134) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 87r

135) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 414r

136) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 87r

137) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 269v, BM, Add MSS 32544, f 263v, BM, Add.MSS 32546, f 294v

138) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 269v *A Plurality of Worlds* (The Nonesuch Press, London, 1929), p 7 In his *Entretiens sur la Pluralite des Mondes* (1686) Fontenelle popularized several of Descartes's theories

139) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 243v See for this Alexandre Koyre, *Newtonian Studies* (Phoenix Books, 1968), p 88

140) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 32r For Descartes's theory of cohesion see Lasswitz, op cit , II, p 66f and E J Dijksterhuis, *De Mechanisering van het Wereldbeeld* (Amsterdam, 1950), pp 451-452 See also E C Millington, "Theories of Cohesion in the Seventeenth Century", *Annals of Science*, 5, 1945, pp 253 269

141) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 413v

142) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 89v

143) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 413v The *OED* only gives the adjective "hamose", in the meaning of "having hooks, hooked" (first occurrence 1709) Gassendi also adhered to a theory of hooked particles, although unlike Roger North, he believed in atoms (Lasswitz, op cit , II, p 148 and Dijksterhuis, op cit , pp 470-471

144) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 87v

145) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 36v

146) See p 42

147) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 6r

148) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 14r BM, Add MSS 32548, f 33r

149) See Copleston, op cit , p 141

150) Cf Jonathan Ree, *Descartes* (London, 1974), pp 48-50

151) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 12r Robert Boyle also held this view on motion, see *Some Considerations touching the Usefulnesse of Experimental Naturall Philosophy* (first published Oxford, 1663-1671), *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, Thomas Birch, ed , (5 vols , London, 1744), vol 2, p 42

152) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 95v For Newton's treatment of this matter see his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, A Koyre and I B Cohen, eds (2 vols , Cambridge, 1972), Scholium to Definitio VIII, vol I, pp 47 53

153) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 85r Newton's distinction between absolute and relative space and time is dealt with by J T Baker in "The Emergence of Space and Time in English philosophy", *Columbia University Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol III, 1935, pp 271-293

154) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 7r and BM, Add MSS 32544, f 25v

155) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 102r BM, Add MSS 32549, ff 90r 90v

156) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 16r and f 261v Samuel Parker published his *Tentamina physico-theologica de Deo* in 1665 and Fairfax attacked Parker's ideas in *A Treatise of the Bulk and Selvedge of the World* (London, 1674), p 38, p 42 and p 180

157) See H G Alexander, ed , *The Leibniz Clarke Correspondence* (Manchester, 1956, repr 1965), Introduction, p xxv and p 25f , Hall [Fontana], op cit , p 303

158) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 29r

159) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 25r

160) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 22r

161) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 38r

162) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 187r

163) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 20v

164) Roger's arguments against a vacuum resemble those of Leibniz (see Alexander, op cit , p 16f and p 43f)

165) See notes 118 and 339

166) Cf Lasswitz, op cit , II, p 136f , Dijksterhuis, op cit , p 490f

167) Cf Alexander, op cit , pp 92-94, Hall [Fontana], op cit , pp 314-315

168) Koyre, op cit , p 150f , see also M Boas and R Hall, "Newton's 'Mechanical Principles' ", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, 1959, no 2, p 172f

169) Roger was familiar with the second edition of the *Principia* (BM, Add MSS 32548, f 39v)

170) Koyre, op cit , p 274f

171) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 36v

172) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 260r

173) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 133v and f 273r

174) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 52v

175) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 183v

176) For brief accounts of Johann Baptista van Helmont see James Crossley, ed , *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington*, printed for the Chetham Society (Manchester, 1847), p 364 and Hall [Fontana], op cit , pp 203 204

177) BM, Add MSS 32549, f 88v The *OED* gives "coagula" as the plural of "coagulum"

178) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 104v

179) BM, Add MSS 32549, f 88v

180) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 10v

181) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 152v Roger especially attacked the *Traité de la Percussion ou Chocq des Corps* (Paris, 1677) For a brief account of Mariotte (d 1684) see Abraham

Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy, in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (first published 1935, 2nd edition prepared by Douglas Mckie, 2 vols , 1962), vol 1, p 232

182) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 50r

183) Boas, op cit , p 510, see also Hall [Fontana], op cit , p 318

184) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 105v

185) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 36v, BM, Add MSS 32547, f 190r

186) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 140v

187) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 36v and f 39r, BM, Add MSS 32544, f 2v and f 255v, BM, Add MSS 32546, f 133r, BM, Add MSS 32547, f 190r, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 78v

188) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 208r

189) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 158v

190) BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 2r 2v and ff 258r-258v

191) For brief discussions of Descartes's view of the animal soul and seventeenth-century reactions on it see Albert G A Balz, "Cartesian Doctrine and the Animal Soul", *Columbia University Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol III, 1935, pp 117-177, Leonora D Cohen, "Descartes and Henry More on the Beast-Machine", *Annals of Science*, I, 1936, pp 48-61, Paul Dibon, "Le Probleme de l'Ame des Bêtes chez Descartes et ses premiers Disciples Neerlandais", *Mens en Dier* (Antwerpen & Amsterdam, 1954), pp 187-221

192) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 146r

193) See for this Lasswitz, op cit , II, pp 533-534 and Wolf, op cit , vol 2, p 665

194) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 123v, see also BM, Add MSS 32548, f 125r and "Cursory Notes of Musicke", North papers, Rougham, ff 2-3

195) R S Westfall deals with the opposition between the mechanical idea of nature and the belief in divine providence, in his *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1958)

196) BM, Add MSS 32547, f 114v

197) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 76r

198) Cf Copleston, op cit , pp 142 143

199) BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 124r-132v

200) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 132v

201) BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 266r 266v, see also BM, Add MSS.32547, f 179v

202) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 133r and ff 140r-140v

203) Cf Koyre, op cit , p 21

204) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 221v

205) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 32v f

206) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 79v

207) *Principles of Philosophy*, part III, § 52 A T , IX B, pp 128-129

208) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 87v, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 36v

209) *Principles of Philosophy*, part III, § 52, A T , IX B, pp 128-129

210) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 92r, BM, Add MSS 32548, f 36v For an account of Descartes's corpuscular theory see Lasswitz, op cit , II, p 64f , Dijksterhuis, op cit., p 450f , Boas, op cit , pp 444-445

211) *Principles of Philosophy*, part III, § 93, § 94, A T , IX B, pp 156-157.

212) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 87v See also Lasswitz, op cit , II, pp 67-68 and Hall [Fontana], op cit , p 119

213) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 87v

214) BM, Add MSS 32545, ff 13r 13v, BM, Add MSS 32547, f 4v In Roger's opinion the only great virtuoso free from arrogance was Barrow (BM, Add MSS 32545, f 13v)

215) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 24r

216) It is interesting to note here that Roger's estimate of Descartes as great in his general principles and sometimes mistaken in his particular solutions very much resembles Thomas

Smith's judgment of Descartes in his "A Character of Monsieur Des Cartes w^ch I wrote about 1679 or 1680, by T S " (Bodleian Library, MS. Smith 128, ff 235-249). Thomas Smith (1638-1710) was a divine and scholar who upon the Revolution became a nonjuror.

217) BM, Add.MSS.32546, ff.221v-222r.

218) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.177v (of course, Roger had a very restricted view of the importance of geometry)

219) BM, Add MSS.32544, ff.162r-162v.

220) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 186r

221) Letter RN to Philip Foley, 22 Dec. 1706 (BM, Add.MSS.32501, f.54r).

222) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 25r

223) BM, Add MSS.32545, f.210r

224) Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624), Italian theologian and natural philosopher who lived in England for some years. His theory of the rainbow appeared in *De Radiis Visus et Lucis in Vitris Perspectivis et Iride* (Venice, 1611)

225) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.13v, see also BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.184r *Opticks*, op.cit., p 169

226) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 115r.

227) BM, Add MSS.32545, ff 94v-95r, BM, Add MSS.32546, ff 179r-179v.

228) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f 272v.

229) BM, Add.MSS 32546, f 221v. For Locke's indebtedness to Descartes see Lamprecht, op.cit , pp.228-239

230) BM, Add MSS.32549, f 84v. E W Strong discusses Keill's scientific views in his "Newtonian Explications of Natural Philosophy", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 18, 1957, pp 49-83.

231) Cf Koyré, op.cit., ch. III, Rée, op.cit., p 58.

232) Rée, op.cit., p.58.

233) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f 30r, BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.57v

234) BM, Add.MSS 32540, ff 86r-86v, BM, Add.MSS.32546, f 136r.

235) Roger admired Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist* (BM, Add.MSS.32545, f 36v and f.179v) in which Boyle "criticized with effect not only the doctrine of the four elements but also the current theory of salt, sulphur and mercury as the three constituent principles of material things" (F.C. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol 5, *Modern Philosophy The British Philosophers part I, Hobbes to Paley*, Image Books, New York, 1964, p.153).

236) BM, Add MSS.32544, f.2v.

237) Roger's views on sense-perception are mainly to be found in BM, Add MSS.32526, ff 8v-34r and ff.108r-117r, BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 1v-8v and ff 252r-265v, BM, Add MSS. 32545, ff.240r-250r, BM, Add MSS 32546, ff.4v-6v and ff.247r-262v, BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.21r-26r and ff 111r-115v, BM, Add MSS.32549, ff.77r-87v, "Cursory Notes of Musicke", ff.135-138, North papers, Rougham.

238) Locke, op cit , vol 1, pp 77-79

239) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 3v.

240) For brief accounts of Descartes's theory of sense-perception see M. Foster, *Lectures on the History of Physiology during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1901), pp.261-266 and R S. Peters, ed., *Brett's History of Psychology* (revised edition, London and New York, 1962), p.341.

241) BM, Add.MSS 32526, ff 10r-14r.

242) BM, Add MSS.32526, f.10r.

243) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 14r-14v, BM, Add.MSS 32549, f 80r

244) BM, Add MSS 32526, f.16r.

245) BM, Add MSS.32526, f 14r Willis's definiton of animal spirits is to be found in Samuel Pordage (translator), *The Remaining Medical Works of that famous and renowned*

Physician Dr Thomas Willis (London, 1681), Part I, ch II, p 3 For a brief description of Willis's view of the animal spirits see Peters, op cit , pp 344-345

246) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 13v

247) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 16r-19r

248) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 13v

249) See Richard A Watson, *The Downfall of Cartesianism 1673-1712* (The Hague, 1966), ch V

250) BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 5v-6r

251) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 257r f

252) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 251v

253) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 1v

254) This idea was not unusual at the time, cf Walter Charleton, *Natural History of Nutrition, Life and Voluntary Motion* (London, 1659), p 186 and Fairfax, op cit , p 108

255) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 15v, BM, Add MSS 32549, ff 77r-87v

256) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 19r and f 26r

257) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 13v and f 41r

258) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 24v-28v At that time there were two main doctrines about the origin of the soul, creationism and traducianism The creationists believed that God creates a soul for each body that is generated, the traducianists held that souls are generated from souls in the same way and at the same time as bodies from bodies (*Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, A Vacant, E Mangenot, E Amann et al , eds , Paris, 1930-1951, XV-1)

259) BM, Add MSS 32549, f 89v

260) *Meditations on the First Philosophy*, Meditation VI, "Of the Existence of Material Things, and of the Real Distinction between the Mind and Body of Man", A T , VII, pp 71-90

261) BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 21r-26r *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*, XII, A.T , X, p 412f Cf Gewirtz, op cit , pp 185-186 and pp 201-202, Robert McRae, "Descartes' Definition of Thought", *Cartesian Studies*, R J Butler, ed (Oxford, 1972), pp 55-70

262) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 259v

263) BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 251r-251v, *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*, VIII, A T , X, p 399 Cf Gewirtz, op cit , pp 201-202, and McRae, op cit , p 59 and pp 65-66

264) "Cursory Notes of Musicke", f 138, North papers, Rougham

265) See Hall [Fontana], op cit , pp 218-219

266) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 240r and f 304r

267) Thomas Hobbes, *Elements of Philosophy* (Sir William Molesworth, ed , *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, reprint of the 1839-1845 edition, 1962, vol 1, Part IV, p 391)

268) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 4v-5v

269) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 5v, BM, Add MSS 32536, f 9r

270) Locke, op cit , vol 1, p 106, p 111

271) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 21v

272) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 29r, this suggests interesting parallels with the views of the philosopher George Berkeley (1685-1753) who maintained that material substance does not exist (*An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*, Dublin, 1709 and *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, Dublin, 1710)

273) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 21v

274) Locke, op cit , vol 1, pp 5-60 For a survey of the various innate ideas postulated by Descartes see Wolf, op cit , vol 2, p 568

275) See Lamprecht, op cit , p 232

276) *Meditations on the First Philosophy*, III, "Of God That He Exists", A T , VII, pp 34-52

277) BM, Add.MSS.32546, ff.271v-272r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.145r-145v.
278) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.243r.
279) BM, Add.MSS.32544, ff.3r-3v.
280) *Meditations on the First Philosophy*, VI; A.T., VII, pp.71-90.
281) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.80r.
282) BM, Add.MSS.32549, f.99r.
283) BM, Add.MSS.32536, f.8v.
284) Roger's views on this subject are mainly to be found in BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.19v-34r and ff.108r-116v; BM, Add.MSS.32536, ff.8r-12v; BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.11r-14r; BM, Add.MSS.32549, ff.98v-100v; "Cursory Notes of Musicke", ff.135-139, North papers, Rougham.
285) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.19v f. and f.108r f.
286) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.29r.
287) BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.141r-141v; see also BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.31v and BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.50r.
288) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.112r.
289) BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.117r-119r.
290) For this paragraph I have relied on the following works: R.S. Peters, op.cit.; M. Foster, op.cit.; F.J. Cole, *A History of Comparative Anatomy* (London, 1944); C. McHenry, *Garrison's History of Neurology* (Springfield, 1969); K.E. Rothschuh, *Physiologie im Werden* (Stuttgart, 1969).
291) Roger deals with physiological and anatomical questions mainly in BM, Add.MSS. 32526, ff.34v-47r, and BM, Add.MSS.32545, ff.86r-91v.
292) Roger refers to the body as a "machine" or an "engin" several times: BM, Add.MSS. 32526, ff.14v, 15r, 17r, 24v, 25r, 26v, 39v, 41r, 44v.
293) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.86r.
294) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.86v.
295) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.43r.
296) Ibid.
297) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.43v.
298) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.86v; see Foster, op.cit., p.74.
299) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.43v; see also BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.87r.
300) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.87r.
301) BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.39r-42v.
302) Francis Glisson (1597-1677), whose *Tractatus de Natura Substantiae Energetica* (1672) and *Tractatus de Ventriculo et Intestinis* (1677) deal with physiology and anatomy.
303) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.43r; BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.91r.
304) Cf. John Browne, *A Compleat Treatise of the Muscles* (London, 1683), "Epistle to the Reader".
305) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.45v; BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.91r.
306) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.45v.
307) BM, Add.MSS.32547 consists almost exclusively of essays on motion; Roger's remarks on optics are far more dispersed; his views on the theory of sound are to be found in BM, Add.MSS.32534, BM, Add.MSS.32535 and BM, Add.MSS.32537.
308) BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.90r.
309) BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.74r.
310) For Descartes see BM, Add.MSS.32514, f.125v and BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.58v f.; for Borelli, BM, Add.MSS.32514, f.104r; for Wilkins, BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.149v and BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.137r; for Newton, BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.219r and BM, Add. MSS.32547, f.92r and f.115v; for Pardies, BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.106v f. and BM, Add. MSS.32544, f.68r.

311) See p.40.
312) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.219r; BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.44v f.
313) Cf. Dijksterhuis, op.cit., pp.452-454 and Rée, op.cit., p.57.
314) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.47v.
315) See Koyré, op.cit., p.77.
316) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.48r. I.G. Pardies (1636-1673), *Discours du Mouvement Local* (Paris, 1670) and *La Statique ou la Science des Forces Mouvantes* (Paris, 1673).
317) BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.43r.
318) BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.301r.
319) See for this Dijksterhuis, op.cit., pp.485-489.
320) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.61v and f.63v.
321) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.59v and f.148v f.; BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.368r f. and f.392v f.; BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.105r f.; BM, Add.MSS.32549, ff.111r-121v. The six mechanical faculties, the balance, lever, wheel, pulley, wedge and screw had been dealt with extensively in the first part of Wilkins's *Mathematicall Magick*.
322) For examples see BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.162r f. and BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.143r f.
323) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.141v.
324) BM, Add.MSS.32514, f.68v.
325) *Lives*, III, p.64.
326) BM, Add.MSS.32545 contains several explicit references (f.13v, f.155v, f.210r) to the *Opticks* (1704) whereas the autobiography does not mention the *Opticks*.
327) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.271r.
328) BM, Add.MSS.32544, ff.165r-165v; *Opticks*, op.cit., p.389.
329) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.173r.
330) Cf. Lasswitz, op.cit., II, pp.355-360; Dijksterhuis, op.cit., pp.504-507; Hall [Fontana], op.cit., pp.276-277.
331) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.3r; BM, Add.MSS.32542, f.7r.
332) BM, Add.MSS.32542, f.9r.
333) BM, Add.MSS.32542, f.7r.
334) BM, Add.MSS.32541, 32542, 32543 contain most of Roger's views on the barometer and meteorology.
335) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.295r.
336) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.244v.
337) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.109r.
338) BM, Add.MSS.32541, ff.288r-295v.
339) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.178r. For Torricelli's discoveries see W.E. Knowles Middleton, *The History of the Barometer* (Baltimore, 1964), ch. 4; Hall [Fontana], op.cit., pp. 253-255; Wolf, op.cit., vol. 1, p.92.
340) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.13v; BM, Add.MSS.32542, f.16v; BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.309r; *Lives*, I, pp.81-82.
341) Middleton, op.cit., p.74.
342) Middleton, op.cit., p.68; Merton, op.cit., p.578. Francis Hall, otherwise Line or Linus (1595-1675), Jesuit and scientific writer, who in 1661 published his *Tractatus de corporum inseparabilitate, in quo experimenta de vacuo tam Torricelliana quam Magdeburgica et Boyliana examinantur*.
343) BM, Add.MSS.32543, ff.2r-4v. Boyle, *New Experiments Physico-mechanical touching the Spring of the Air and its Effects* (1660).
344) BM, Add.MSS.32542, f.34r.
345) BM, Add.MSS.32543, ff.7v-9v.
346) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.307v.
347) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.246r.

348) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 78r, BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 245v 246r
349) BM, Add MSS 32542, f 53r, see also Wolf, op cit , vol 1, p 317
350) BM, Add MSS 32542, ff 45r-45v Francis Bacon, *Historia Naturalis et Experimentalis de Ventis* (1638)
351) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 285r
352) BM, Add MSS 32541, ff 1r-2v, f 5r, BM, Add MSS 32542, ff 1r-6v, f 9r
353) See Wolf, op cit , vol 1, p 313
354) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 285v
355) BM, Add MSS 32541, ff 245r-279v
356) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 285v
357) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 267v
358) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 256v
359) BM, Add MSS 32541, ff 281v-283r
360) BM, Add MSS 32541, f 281v
361) See Wolf, op cit , vol 1, pp 158-159
362) BM, Add MSS 32542, ff 89v-91r
363) BM, Add MSS 32542, ff 91v-92r
364) BM, Add MSS 32542, ff 92r-98r
365) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 29v Roger's views on astronomy are to be found in BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 76r-88v, BM, Add MSS 32544, ff 94v 143v, BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 33r 90r, BM, Add MSS 32548, ff 32v 50r
366) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 31r Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) attempted a compromise between the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, for an account of Brahe's contributions to astronomy see Wolf, op cit , vol 1, pp 121-131
367) Cf Lasswitz, op cit , II, pp 65-66 Dijksterhuis, op cit , p 451, Hall [Fontana], op cit , pp 117-119, pp 120-121, pp 314 316
368) *Principia*, op cit , Liber II, Sectio IX (vol I, p 534f)
369) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 38v John North believed "this Systeme of vortexes subject to More Inconstancy & disorder then can agree with y^{e} Exactness of the heavens" (BM, Add MSS 32514, f 216v)
370) *Opticks*, op cit , p 399
371) See p 51
372) BM, Add MSS 32514, ff 80v-82v
373) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 35r
374) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 122v, BM, Add MSS 32544, f 149r
375) Cf Dijksterhuis, op cit , p 453f
376) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 36v
377) BM, Add MSS 32546, ff 65r-66r
378) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 77v
379) See *Opticks*, op cit , p 402
380) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 46r
381) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 76r
382) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 287v
383) BM, Add MSS 32548, f 36v
384) BM, Add MSS 32544, f 100r f , BM, Add MSS 32546, f 67v f
385) BM, Add MSS 32546, f 20v Huygens's *Cosmotheoros* was published posthumously in 1698
386) Cf Koyre, op cit , p 54

Chapter III

1) H Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800* (London, 1949), p 166

2) Sir Robert Filmer (d 1653) was one of the most strenuous advocates of divine right in the seventeenth century He wrote several works on the subject during the Civil War, but his most famous one, *Patriarcha*, was not published until 1680, when the monarchy was once more under attack For a treatment of the doctrine of divine right see J N Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (first published 1896, Cambridge, 1914) and also Gerald Straka, "The Final Phase of Divine Right Theory in England, 1688-1702", *English Historical Review*, 77, 1962, pp 638-658

3) *Leviathan*, 1651 (Penguin Books, C B Macpherson, ed 1968), *De Cive* was published in Latin in 1642 and nine years later in English (*De Cive or the Citizen*, S P Lamprecht, ed New York, 1949), *De Corpore Politico*, 1650 (*The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, Sir William Molesworth, ed , reprint of the edition of 1839-1845, 1962, vol 4) For a discussion of Hobbes's political views see John Bowle, *Hobbes and his Critics* (London, 1951), D G James, *The Life of Reason* (London, 1949), C B Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism Hobbes to Locke* (New York, 1962), F S McNeilly, *The Anatomy of Leviathan* (New York, 1968), Samuel I Mintz, *The Hunting of Leviathan* (Cambridge, 1962)

4) John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 1690 (I have used the edition of Thomas I Cook, New York, 1947, which also contains the text of Filmer's *Patriarcha*)

5) T A Birrell, "Roger North and Political Morality in the later Stuart Period", *Scrutiny*, XVII, 1950-1951, pp 282-298 For the section on politics and law in this chapter I am greatly indebted to this pioneering article

6) For a treatment of Locke's political theories see C H Driver, "John Locke", *The Social and Political Ideas of some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age, A D 1650-1750*, F J C Hearnshaw, ed (London, 1928, repr 1967), pp 69-96, D G James, op cit , C B Macpherson, op cit, T Redpath, "John Locke and the Rhetoric of the Second Treatise", *The English Mind*, H Sykes Davies and George Watson, eds (Cambridge, 1964), pp 55-78, Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols , New York, 1962), vol 2, ch 10, John W Yolton, *John Locke and the Way of Ideas* (Oxford, 1956)

7) This was during the commotion of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis

8) These are the writings referred to in chapter I, pp 8-16 and the corresponding notes

9) See Millard, op cit , ch 1, "Chronology of Roger North's Major Works", Millard's conclusions, which seem to me to be reliable, are that the *Examen* was begun c 1710 and was finished at the end of 1713, and that the *Lives* of Dudley, Francis and John were finished respectively c 1709, 1714 and 1715, for the dating of the *Autobiography* see chapter I, note 164 Lois G Schwoerer's article "The Chronology of Roger North's Major Works" (*History of Ideas News Letter*, III, no 4, 1957, pp 73-78) is very inaccurate because she, unlike Millard, bases herself exclusively on an examination of the printed *Lives*

10) BM, Add MSS 32518, BM, Add MSS 32519 and the last part of BM, Add MSS 32520 contain Roger's transcripts of Francis's writings, St John's College Library, Cambridge, MS James 613, has the same transcripts of Francis's writings

11) i e Samuel Johnson (1649-1703), a Whig divine whose *Julian the Apostate* was vehemently attacked by the royalists

12) BM, Add MSS 32518, ff 62r 65r, see also Cambridge, MS James 613, vol VII

13) BM, Add MSS 32518, ff 157r-175r, see also Cambridge, MS James 613, vol VII

14) See chapter I, p 8 and the corresponding note

15) *Lives*, I, p.338

16) See chapter I, p 12

17) "y^{e} folly of y^{e} Roman Catholick party", North papers, Rougham, 23C5

18) "Of y^{e} Kings Indulgence", North papers, Rougham, 23C5

19) "y^{e} folly of y^{e} Roman Catholick party", North papers, Rougham, 23C5

20) See chapter I, pp 14-15 and the corresponding notes

21) BM, Add.MSS.32520, ff.133v-134r.
22) Ibid., f.134r.
23) Ibid., f 136v.
24) Ibid., ff 146r-146v.
25) Cf. Locke, *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*, ch. VIII "Of the Beginning of Political Societies". See for this Jennifer Carter, "The Revolution and the Constitution", *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, Geoffrey Holmes, ed. (London, 1969), pp 39-58, J.R Tanner, *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century, 1603-1689* (first published 1928, repr. Cambridge, 1971), Lecture XVI and Appendix X, J.R Western, *Monarchy and Revolution the English State in the 1680s* (London, 1972), p.310.
26) BM, Add MSS.32520, ff.147r-147v
27) Ibid , f.156v.
28) Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party 1640-1714* (first published 1924, repr. Oxford, 1970), p.252 and J.P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles* (Cambridge, 1977), p.8.
29) BM, Add MSS.32520, f.154r.
30) Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (Paris, 1625).
31) See Kenyon, op.cit., p 31 and Western, op.cit , p 239.
32) BM, Add.MSS.32520, f.133r, Roger uses the word "authentick" here in the meaning of "authoritative".
33) Ibid , ff 155r-156r.
34) Ibid., f 155r.
35) Ibid., f.155v.
36) Roger refers to Hickes as "now publishing a Collection of the Septentrionall Antiquitys" (BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.131v). Hickes's *Thesaurus Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalum* appeared between 1703 and 1705. Moreover, at the back of letters written by Roger's brother Montagu on 11 November 1703 and 5 February 1704, there is, in Roger's hand-writing, a table of contents of the volumes of etymology. For Hickes see chapter I, p.16, p.23 and p 27, and the corresponding notes.
37) Roland N. Stromberg speaks of "the conviction in some minds, especially Tory, that the world had 'gone to the dogs'" (*Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England*, London, 1954, p.3).
38) BM, Add.MSS.32524, f 30v f.
39) Bodleian Library, MS. Eng Hist. b.2, ff.222r-223v.
40) BM, Add MSS.32530, ff.51r-51v.
41) BM, Add MSS 32529, f.47v. For the phrase "instar omnium" see note 241 to the essays.
42) Ibid., f.56v and f 75r.
43) BM, Add MSS.32530, f 97v.
44) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f 64v
45) Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist. b.2, f.226r.
46) BM, Add MSS 32529, ff 86r-86v.
47) Ibid , ff.167v-168r and f 62v.
48) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f 128v, in BM, Add.MSS 32526 (ff.59r-59v) Roger writes that dressing in the right way is to a large extent a question of "je ne Scay Quoi" and in BM, Add.MSS.32530 (f.34r) he states that the phrase has become familiar and is very useful because English does not have an exact equivalent. Cf. R.L. Brett, "The Aesthetic Sense and Taste in the Literary Criticism of the Early Eighteenth Century", *The Review of English Studies*, XX, 1944, " .. the notion that a play or poem could have a charm incapable of being analysed or explained but which was recognised by the reader's or spectator's sensibility Such a notion gave rise to and was popularized in the doctrine of the *je ne sais quoy...*" (p.200).

49) BM, Add MSS 32530, ff 66v-67r
50) Bowle, op cit , p 191.
51) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 74r.
52) Ibid., f 77v.
53) Ibid., f 65r
54) Ibid , f 194r
55) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 62r.
56) See p 60 and note 29.
57) BM, Add MSS.32529, ff 80v-81v About the time of the Sacheverell trial (1709) the question of passive obedience and non-resistance became a hotly debated issue again. Several of the pro-passive obedience tracts condemned resistance to kings on moral or religious grounds, cf the anonymous *Passive Obedience established and Resistance confuted* (London, 1713) and George Berkeley's *Passive Obedience, or, the Christian Doctrine of not resisting the Supreme Power* .. (2nd edition, London, 1712)
58) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 67v, compare this with Locke "Political power, then, I take to be a right of making laws with penalties of death and, consequently, all less penalties for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the public good" (*The Second Treatise of Civil Government*, Thomas I Cook, ed , p 122)
59) BM, Add MSS 32530, f.73v
60) Ibid., f.65r
61) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 71r, see also BM, Add MSS 32500, f.147r and BM, Add MSS 32526, f 93r, "the Estated party of England, who are, or should be most concerned In y^{e} Caus of common peace & property . to Curb these acreless underminers ..." (BM, Add.MSS 32530, f 60v).
62) *Examen*, pp 329-341, this treatise was later printed as "A Discourse on the English Constitution" in *The Scholar Armed*, William Jones of Nayland, ed (London, 1795), vol I, pp.295-312
63) See T A. Birrell, op cit
64) *Examen*, pp 352-353, a slightly different version of this account is to be found in BM, Add MSS 32523, ff.111r-113v.
65) BM, Add MSS.32523, f 111r
66) Cf *Lives*, II, p 152, *Lives*, III, pp 159-160, *Examen*, pp 47-48.
67) *Lives*, III, p 128
68) See chapter I, p 23.
69) *Examen*, p 450
70) Ibid., p 657 and p 651.
71) The "petitioners" were those who at the end of 1680 issued petitions asking Charles II for a sitting of parliament In the *Examen* Roger deals at length with the "petitioners" and their opponents, the "abhorrers" (pp.540-544). See also David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (OUP Paperback, 1967), p 602.
72) *Examen*, pp 541-542.
73) See chapter I, p.23.
74) *Lives*, I, pp.191-192.
75) *Lives*, II, p.75.
76) Cf Roger's father's *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), pp. 124-125.
77) *Lives*, III, p 169
78) See for instance the example given in note 159 to chapter I.
79) *A Discourse of Fish and Fish-Ponds* (London, 1713), pp 27-28

80) Roger uses the term "politicians" always in connection with those who oppose the established government "It is said by Mechanicks, that having a moving force stated & Given, they will apply it so as to performe any work, as there is occasion So politicians, Give them but strife & faction In a Nation, and let them alone to make their advantage of it" (BM, Add MSS 32530, f 75v)

81) BM, Add MSS 32520, f 34v

82) This paragraph is chiefly based on Ch J Abbey, *The English Church and its Bishops 1700-1800* (2 vols , London, 1887), G V Bennett, "King William III and the Episcopate", *Essays in Modern Church History*, G V Bennett and J D Walsh, eds (London, 1966), pp 104-131, G V Bennett, "Conflict in the Church", *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714*, Geoffrey Holmes, ed (London, 1969), pp 155 175, G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730* (Oxford, 1975), Henry Broxap, "Jacobites and Non Jurors", *The Social and Political Ideas of some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age, A D 1650-1750*, F J C Hearnshaw, ed (London, 1928, repr 1967), pp 97-111, George Every, *The High Church Party, 1688 1718* (London, 1956), John Wickham Legg, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London, 1914), William Palin, *The History of the Church of England 1688 1717* (London, 1851), Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934), Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959), Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737* (2 vols , Cambridge, 1957)

83) I am aware that the word "beginning" is not quite appropriate because especially the change referred to at the end of the sentence was the result of a gradual process that started before the Revolution

84) See for instance *Reflections upon some passages in Mr Le Clerc's Life of Mr John Locke* (London, 1711), p 10

85) "The Church in Danger" was one of the battle-cries of the High Church Party in William III's and Anne's reigns

86) This paragraph is chiefly based on Rosalie L Colie, *Light and Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1957), Rosalie L Colie, "Spinoza and the Early English Deists", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, 1959, pp 23-47, Rosalie L Colie, "Spinoza in England, 1665-1730", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107, 1963, pp 183-219, G R Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, vol 4 of *The Pelican History of the Church* (Penguin Books, 1966), Margaret C Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689-1720* (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1976), Mark Pattison, "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750", *Essays and Reviews*, F Temple et al (London, 1860), pp 254-329, Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols , New York, 1962), Roland N Stromberg, *Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth Century England* (London, 1954), R S Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, 1958), Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background* (Penguin Books, 1967)

87) *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, John W Yolton, ed (2 vols , Everyman's Library, 1967), vol 2, p 289

88) Leslie Stephen, op cit , vol 2, pp 345-346 and p 2

89) Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, f 157r (letter of Hickes to White Kennett)

90) BM, Add MSS 32550 and BM, Add MSS 32551, the two manuscripts are two versions of the same letter, and I have chosen BM, Add MSS 32551 for my references, as it is a fair copy of BM, Add MSS 32550

91) Although it is not possible to indicate the exact dates of the essays on the clergy and on religion (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 79v-87v and ff 124r-125v) I assume, from the general tenor of these essays, that they both belong to the early eighteenth century

92) John North died in 1683 The papers are to be found in BM, Add MSS 32514, ff

167r-183r and ff 210v 217v

93) An Arian was an adherent of the doctrine of Arius of Alexandria (4th century), who denied that Christ was consubstantial with God Orthodox Anglicanism was based on the Athanasian, as opposed to the Arian, doctrine, Athanasius was archbishop of Alexandria in the 4th century Socinians were strictly speaking followers of Franciscus Socinus, a sixteenth-century Italian theologian, who denied the divinity of Christ In the seventeenth century the term "Socinians" was used in a looser way to denote all those "who departed radically from the orthodox Christian scheme of redemption or found difficulty with the metaphysical notions enshrined in Catholic doctrinal formulae" (H J McLachlan, *Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England*, Oxford, 1951, p 3)

94) BM, Add MSS 32514, f 176v and ff 211v-212r

95) Cf S P Lamprecht, "The Rôle of Descartes in Seventeenth Century England", *Columbia University Studies in the History of Ideas*, vol III, 1935, p 227

96) Benjamin Hoadly's edition of *The Works of Samuel Clarke* (4 vols , London, 1738) has a preface "giving some Account of the Life, Writings and Character of the Author", see also William Whiston, *Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke* (London, 1730) for a modern biography of Samuel Clarke see J P Ferguson, *An Eighteenth Century Heretic Dr Samuel Clarke* (Kineton, Warwick The Roundwood Press, 1976)

97) *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr William Whiston written by himself* (3 parts, London, 1749), pt 1, p 173 f , see also William Whiston, *Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke* (London, 1730), p 24 and Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737* (Cambridge, 1957), vol 2, p 153

98) William Palin, op cit , pp 361 362

99) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 1v, letter RN to ?, undated

100) BM, Add MSS 32551, ff 2r-33r

101) For a discussion of Clarke's book see William Whiston, *Historical Memoirs of the Life of Dr Samuel Clarke* (London, 1730), "Observations on Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity", pp 44-64, Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959), p 165, Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737* (Cambridge, 1957), vol 2, pp 158-160

102) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 2r and f 2v

103) Ibid , f 4v

104) Ibid , ff 14v-16v and ff 21v-22r

105) 1 John 5,7 (Authorized Version, hereafter AV)

106) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 2v, ff 5r-6r, f 21v

107) John 14, 28 (AV)

108) BM, Add MSS 32551, ff 16r-16v and f 21v

109) Ibid , ff 21v-22r

110) Ibid , f 13r and f 22v, in his book *The Case of Reason* (London, 1731, p 45) William Law makes the same objections against Tindal 's way of talking about God in *Christianity as old as the Creation* (London, 1730)

111) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 34v, a copy of a letter of Hickes to RN, 23 May 1713.

112) Ibid , ff 13v-15r

113) Ibid , f 14r

114) Ibid , ff 29r-31r

115) Ibid , f 10v, "to levigate" means "to smooth down", and "demure" has the meaning of "affectedly serious"

116) Ibid , ff 4r-4v

117) Ibid , ff 8r-9v

118) Ibid , f 12v

119) Ibid , f 32r

120) Ibid , f 28r

121) Ibid , f 13r

122) Ibid , f 17v f

123) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 120r-123r, this essay, which is dated "1732", is in the handwriting of Roger's son Montagu

124) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 120v and BM, Add MSS 32551, f 17v Roger North was not alone in his reaction against the idolization of human reason Cf [Martin Clifford], *A Treatise of Humane Reason* (London, 1674) Especially after the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the hey day of deism in England, several works were published in which the primacy of reason as propounded by the deists and also by the "rational" Christians, was attacked William Law writes "For what is it that can be called human reason Is it any thing else than human opinion? And is there any thing that mankind are in greater uncertainty [about]?" (*The Case of Reason*, p 112) Cf also Peter Browne, *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding* (London, 1728) For an account of the reaction against deism in the 1730s see Stromberg, op cit , p 101 f

125) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 19v

126) Ibid , f 19r

127) Ibid , f 12r and ff 23r 23v, Anthony Collins, *An Essay concerning the Use of Reason* (1707) and *A Discourse of Freethinking* (1713), Charles Blount, *Great is the Diana of the Ephesians* (1680), John Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696)

128) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 35r

129) Ibid

130) Ibid , f 35v, Henry Hammond (1605 1660), Anglican divine whose *Works* were published in 4 volumes between 1674 and 1684, George Bull (1634 1710), bishop of St David's from 1705 to 1710, whose most famous work, *Defensio Fidei Nicenae*, was published in 1685

131) BM, Add MSS 32551, f 35r

132) Ibid , f 36v

133) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 80v, see also *Lives*, II, p 276 and *Lives*, III, pp 117-118

134) Anon , *A serious Enquiry into the present State of the Church of England* (London, 1711), Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses upon Several Subjects* (London, 1690), "The Fifth Discourse", pp 73-95, Jeremy Collier, *Essays upon several moral Subjects* (2 parts, London, 1697), pt 1, pp 30-48, [Francis Lee], *A Compleat Collection of the Works of J K* [John Kettlewell] (2 vols , London, 1719), vol 1, pp 90-96, Humphrey Prideaux, *A Letter to the Deists* (London, 1697), p 37, J T Rutt, ed , *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with some reflections on the times I have lived in (1671-1731) by Edmund Calamy* (London, 1829), p 260 f

135) [Lee], op cit , p 95

136) Francis Atterbury, a "high flying" Anglican divine and later bishop, asserted this view in *A Letter to a Convocation Man* (1697) See for this G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688 1730*, p 47 f , Broxap, op cit , pp 109-110, H M Gwatkin, *Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne* (London, 1917), p 383, Norman Sykes, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657 1737* (2 vols , Cambridge, 1957), vol 1, pp 69-70 and p 80 f

137) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 83v-85r

138) Ibid , f 82r

139) Joseph Butler (1692-1752) deals with these questions in *The Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (London, 1736), especially in Part I, chs 2, 3 and 6 For a treatment of Butler's views see George Watson, "Joseph Butler", *The English Mind*, H Sykes Davies and George Watson, eds (Cambridge, 1964), pp 107-122, Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (2

vols., New York, 1962), vol. 1, ch. 5; Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background* (Penguin Books, 1967), ch. 5.

140) "A demonstration of free will", BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.126r.

141) BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.147r; for an account of Wollaston's ideas see Leslie Stephen, op.cit., vol. 1, ch. 3, p.110 f.

142) Roger's views on this subject are mainly to be found in BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff. 98r-98v; BM, Add.MSS.32544, ff.252r-264r; BM, Add.MSS.32545, ff.23r-23v; BM, Add. MSS.32546, ff.170r-174r and ff.266r-270v; BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.139v-150r.

143) Cf. R.S. Westfall, op.cit., chs. 1 and 2.

144) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.270v.

145) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.98v.

146) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.171r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32545, ff.23r-23v.

147) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.98v.

148) BM, Add.MSS.32545, ff.23r-23v and BM, Add.MSS.32546, ff.170r-171r.

149) BM, Add.MSS.32545, f.23v and BM, Add.MSS.32546, ff.171r-171v.

150) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.171r.

151) Ibid., f.171v; compare this with Roger's reaction to Samuel Clarke's advice "to see with your owne eyes" (p.71).

152) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.173v.

153) "For when once Men refuse or neglect to think, and take up their Opinions upon trust, they doe in effect declare they would have been Papists or Heathens ..." and "... whoever reasons, lays aside all Authority, and endeavours to force your Assent by Argument alone" (Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of Freethinking*, London, 1713, p.35 and p.44).

154) "... we see nothing wanting, nothing redundant, or frivolous, nothing botching or ill-made, but that every thing, even in the very Appendages alone, do exactly answer all their Ends and Occasions ..." and "... when we contemplate the noble Faculties of this our superior part [i.e. our "soul"], the vast Reach and Compass of it's Understanding, the prodigious Quickness and Piercingness of it's Thought, the admirable Subtilety of it's Invention, the commanding Power of it's Wisdom, the great Depth of it's Memory, and in a Word it's Divine Nature and Operations ... who I say, or what less than the infinite God, could make such a Rational Creature, such a divine Substance as the Soul" (William Derham, *Physico-Theology*, London, 1713, p.37, pp.302-303 and p.312).

155) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.261r.

156) See chapter II, p.41 f.

157) For instance BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.190r and BM, Add.MSS.32547, f.179v.

158) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.190r.

159) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.291r.

160) For this term and for a comment upon it see Jacques Maritain, *The Dream of Descartes* (New York, 1944), pp.152-153.

161) BM, Add.MSS.32544, ff.262r-264r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.144r-144v.

162) *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, vol. 1, pp.262-263.

163) See Basil Willey, *The Eighteenth-Century Background* (Penguin Books, 1967), p.69 f. and M.S. Røstvig, *The Happy Man* (2 vols., Oslo, 1954), vol. 2, p.46 f.

164) BM, Add.MSS.32544, f.176r.

165) BM, Add.MSS.32548, ff.140r-142r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32549, f.94r.

166) BM, Add.MSS.32548, f.139v.

167) BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.124r-125v and *Lives*, III, pp.151-154.

168) See p.67.

169) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.124r and f.124v.

170) *Lives*, III, p.151.

171) Ibid., p.152.

172) Cf S E Sprott, *The English Debate on Suicide* (La Salle, Ill , 1961), chs III and IV

173) Comments on the social changes after 1688 are to be found in G N Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1934), ch 6, Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution* (Sphere Books, 1974), Part Four, Angus McInnes, "The Revolution and the People", *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, Geoffrey Holmes, ed (London, 1969), pp 80-95, Dorothy Marshall, *Eighteenth Century England* (London, 1962), ch 1, David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (OUP Paperback, 1969), chs II, III, IV, X, XIV, XVIII, J H Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725* (Peregrine Books, 1969), G M Trevelyan, *English Social History* (Pelican Books, 1969), chs 9 and 10

174) Dudley, 4th Lord North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), pp 106-107

175) H J Habakkuk, "English Landownership, 1680-1740", *The Economic History Review*, 10, no 1, 1940, pp 9-10, Plumb, op cit , p 23 [William Darrell], *A Gentleman instructed in the Conduct of a virtuous and happy Life* (London, 1704) has a foreword by the publisher in which he remarks that the gentry are 'closely besieged on all sides, and standing on the Brink of Destruction, and (what is worse) void of Fear, nay, lulled into a mortal Lethargy "

176) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 66r and f 9r

177) BM, Add MSS 32532, f 1r

178) In the *Spectator* Sir Roger de Coverley is pictured as the typical Tory country-squire, thriftless and looking down on trade and business When giving a dialogue between Sir Roger and Sir Andrew Freeport, the merchant, Steele makes the former say "And at best, let Frugality and Parsimony be the Virtues of the Merchant, how much is his punctual Dealing below a Gentleman's Charity to the Poor, or Hospitality among his Neighbours?" (Donald F Bond, ed , *The Spectator*, 5 vols , Oxford, 1965, vol 2, p 186)

179) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 93r

180) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 4v, "to side-box" means "to gaze at from a side-box in the theatre"

181) *A Discourse of Fish and Fish Ponds* (London, 1713), p 58

182) "Observations occasioned by Reading wilsons History of K James", North papers, Rougham, 23C5

183) *Lives*, III, p 69

184) BM, Add MSS 32537, f 107v

185) E D Mackerness, "A Speculative Dilettante", *Music and Letters*, 34, 1953, p 240

186) BM, Add MSS 32540, f 21v

187) *Lives*, III, p 72 and p 69

188) *Examen*, p 140 and p 141

189) R H Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (Pelican Books, 1969), pp 251-252

190) Tawney, op cit , ch 4, section IV "The New Medicine for Poverty", see also Margaret C Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689 1720* (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1976), ch 5 "The Boyle Lectures and the Social Meaning of Newtonianism"

191) See Christopher Hill, op cit , pp 206 208 and pp 268-269, D Marshall, "Old Poor Law, 1662 1795", *The Economic History Review*, 8, 1937-8, pp 38-47, David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (OUP Paperback, 1967), pp 120-124

192) For Dudley North's views on the poor and the Poor Laws see BM, Add MSS 32512, ff 124v-130v ("Some Notes Concerning y^{e} Laws ffor the poor") and BM, Add MSS 32522, ff 29v-32v (a shorter version of the former)

193) Montagu North, ed , *A Discourse of the Poor* (London, 1753), pp 11, 17, 22, 61, in the "Preface" Montagu states that the book was written either just before or soon after the Revolution

194) See for instance Sir Josiah Child's *Proposals for the Relief and Employment of the Poor* (London, 1670?)

195) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 48v

196) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 112v

197) *A Discourse of the Poor*, p 7 and p 19 f

198) *The Gentleman Accomptant*, p 92

199) Christopher Hill, op cit , p 227, Margaret C Jacob, op cit , p 59

200) Leslie Stephen, op cit , vol 2, p 256

201) J R McCulloch, *A Discourse on the rise of Political Economy* (Edinburgh, 1824), p 37

202) W Letwin, "The Authorship of Sir Dudley North's *Discourses on Trade*", *Economica*, 18, 1951, pp 35 56

203) Ibid , p 56

204) See chapter I, p 9

205) See for instance Sir Josiah Child, *A Discourse concerning Trade* (part of *A New Discourse of Trade*, London, 1693), p 8

206) Roger himself accuses the lawyers in his *Arguments and Materials for a Register of Estates* (London, 1698), p 26, see also Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses upon Several Subjects* (London, 1690), p 117

207) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 60r-64r

208) E Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (5th and 6th editions, 3 vols , London, 1948-1956), vol 3, p 227

209) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 60r-60v

210) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 63v, "A Representation concerning M[r] Cooks Estate in w-lexam" and "y[e] Reform'd law", North papers, Rougham, 23C5

211) W E Houghton, Jr , "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3, no 1 and no 2, 1942, p 215

212) Allan Cooper, "Roger North, an early East Anglian fishing expert", *East Anglian Magazine*, 26, no 5, March 1967, p 168

213) For information on bookkeeping in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Richard Brown, C A , *A History of Accounting and Accountants* (Edinburgh and London, 1905), David Murray, *Chapters in the History of Bookkeeping, Accountancy, and Commercial Arithmetic* (Glasgow, 1930) - Murray singles out Roger North's work as "the most interesting" of early eighteenth-century treatises on bookkeeping (pp 261-265), J G C Jackson, "The History of Methods of Exposition of double-entry Bookkeeping in England", *Studies in the History of Accounting* A C Littleton and B S Yamey, eds (London, 1956), pp 288 312

214) G N Clark, introductory chapter (p 20) to F J C Hearnshaw, ed , *The Social and Political Ideas of some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age, A D 1650-1750* (London, 1928, repr 1967)

215) Roger may be referring here to a book like Richard Dafforne's *Merchant's Mirrour* (London, 1635) Dafforne was mainly interested in establishing mechanical accounting procedures to be learned by subordinates and by semi-professional accountants

216) *The Gentleman Accomptant*, p 5, p 7, p 41, pp 62-68

217) See for instance Stephen Monteage, *Debtor and Creditor made easie* (London, 1675) and T R , *The Gentleman's Auditor* (London, 1707)

218) See the "Preface" to the *Principles of Philosophy*, and the first part of this work, "Of the Principles of Human Knowledge" (Descartes, *A Discourse on Method, Meditations on the First Philosophy, Principles of Philosophy*, Everyman s Library, 1969)

219) Robert McRae, "The Unity of the Sciences Bacon, Descartes and Leibniz", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 18, 1957, p 39

220) Roger himself makes some critical remarks on the pedantry of schoolmasters (BM, Add.MSS.32549, ff.36r-36v and *Lives*, II, p.272).

221) Cf. J.M. Robertson, ed., *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (2 vols., London, 1900, repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1963), vol. 1, pp.214-215.

222) For this subject see R.F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns* (St. Louis, 1936); R.F. Jones, ed., *The Seventeenth Century* (Stanford U.P., 1951); Robert K. Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England", *Osiris*, 4, 1938, pp.475-495.

223) Merton, op.cit., p.585.

224) Leslie Stephen, op.cit., vol. 1, p.162.

225) David C. Douglas, *English Scholars, 1660-1730* (first published 1939, London 1951), pp.273-278, and Margaret 'Espinasse, "The Decline and Fall of Restoration Science", *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Charles Webster, ed. (London, 1974), pp.357-358.

226) *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, vol. 2, p.167.

227) Locke's views on education are to be found in *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (London, 1693) and "Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman", *The Works of Locke* (4 vols., London 1768), vol. 4, pp.600-605.

228) Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *Essays on Several Subjects* (London, 1691), pp.57-58.

229) *Spectator*, vol. 2, pp.395-396.

230) Ibid., vol. 4, p.128.

231) These essays are mainly to be found in BM, Add.MSS.32529 and BM, Add.MSS. 32530.

232) BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.5r-22v; BM, Add.MSS.32530, ff.5r-21v.

233) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.12r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.14r.

234) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.12v; see also BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.14v-15r.

235) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.16r; see also BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.19r.

236) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.91v f.

237) For Defoe's views on education see K.D. Bülbring, ed., *The Compleat English Gentleman* (London, 1890) and "The Education of Women", *An Essay upon Projects* (London, 1697), to be found in G.A. Aitken, ed., *Later Stuart Tracts* (Westminster, 1903).

238) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.210v.

239) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.25r.

240) BM, Add.MSS.32546, f.211v.

241) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.46r.

242) Ibid., f.24v.

243) See Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (London, 1694), p.83; Lady Mary Chudleigh, *Essays upon several Subjects in Prose and Verse* (London, 1710), p.14; Myra Reynolds, *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* (Boston and New York, 1920), p.335.

244) For Dudley's travel descriptions see BM, Add.MSS.32522, f.26r f. and *Lives*, II, pp.8-37, pp.84-133 and pp.160-167.

245) BM, Add.MSS.32522, f.27v; for a discussion of the literature of travel see James Sutherland, *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1969), pp.288-296 and Bonamy Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700-1740* (Oxford, 1959, repr. 1968), pp.368-377.

246) Roger's friend George Hickes was one of the most strenuous advocates of higher education for women of his time (see Reynolds, op.cit., p.291 f.); for Roger's views on education for women see his essay "of y^{e} Generall Conduct of weomen" (BM, Add.MSS. 32526, ff.68v-74v).

247) Here Roger has probably in mind the suggestions of a writer like Mary Astell (*A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, London, 1694, pp.60-61), who proposed the foundation

of a monastery for the purpose of female education

248) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 30v

249) For this paragraph see V B Heltzel, "Chesterfield and the Tradition of the Ideal Gentleman", doctoral dissertation, Chicago, 1925 (on microfilm in the British Library, London), John E Mason, *Gentlefolk in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1935), G E Noyes, *Bibliography of Courtesy and Conduct Books in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven, 1937), and the seventeenth-century writings there cited

250) Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630), and *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631)

251) See note 227

252) Dobree, op cit , p 9

253) Millard (op cit , pp 13-14) tentatively suggests that, on the basis of the watermarks, the manuscript in which the long essays on pride and breeding are to be found, or at any rate part of it, (BM, Add MSS 32523) can be dated before 1710 1714 In the essay on breeding (f 138r) Roger speaks about Archbishop Sancroft in a way that makes clear that the latter had been dead for some time (Sancroft died in 1693) What is more important, however, the very subjects dealt with and the obviously Augustan elements in the essays justify the hypothesis that the essays belong to the early eighteenth century

254) For a discussion of Addison's and Steele's intentions and achievements with the periodical essay see A Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century, 1660 1744* (Paris, 1881, transl E O Lorimer, B Dobree, ed , London, 1948), A R Humphreys, *Steele, Addison and their Periodical Essays* (British Council Pamphlet, 1959), G S Marr, *The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1923), C S Lewis, "Addison", *Eighteenth Century Literature*, James L Clifford, ed (first published 1959, London, 1971), pp 144 157

255) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 130r and f 132r

256) Ibid , f 137v

257) Ibid , f 122v and f 124v

258) Roger's "moral" essays are the following "Pride" (BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 122r-131v), 'Breeding" (BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 132r-141v), "of pride" (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 48r-49v), an unfinished essay, "Of Breeding" (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 50v 54v), "Of Affectation" (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 55r-56r), "Of Dressing" (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 57r-59v), [on contentment in retirement] (BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 90r 95r), an unfinished essay, "Of pedantisme and pride" (BM, Add MSS 32549, ff 36r-38v)

259) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 52r-52v

260) *Tatler*, no 30 (*The British Essayists*, James Ferguson, ed , 40 vols , London, 1823, *The Tatler*, vols 1-4, vol 1, pp 216 223) *Spectator*, no 67 (vol 1, p 287), *Spectator*, no 119 (vol 1, pp 486-489), *Spectator*, no 209 (vol 2, p 318)

261) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 132v, see also BM, Add MSS 32526, f 50v

262) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 129v see also BM, Add MSS 32526, f 56r

263) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 134v

264) BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 129r-131v, see also BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 55r-56r and ff 57r-59v

265) BM, Add MSS 32523, f 132r, see also BM, Add MSS 32526, f 48v and ff 54v-55v

266) Leslie Stephen, op cit , vol 2, p 13

267) A R Humphreys, op cit , pp 25-26

268) BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 136v-137r

269) Cf this extract from de Villiers's work in Roger's translation "Men affect to appear different from what they truly are, not only to impose on others, but also in hopes, by that means to cheat themselves One that feels in himself the beast, thinks by declaring himself Generous and Liberal, to lessen the shame that dwells within" (*Reflections on our Common*

Failings, Done out of French by a Person of Honour, London 1701, p 17) For de Villiers see chapter I, note 256

270) BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 137v 139r

271) *Spectator*, no 225 (vol 2, p 375), see also *Spectator*, nos 125 and 323

272) *Spectator*, no 68 (vol 1, pp 289 292)

273) BM, Add MSS 32523, ff 126v-127r and ff 136r 136v

274) Ibid , f 136r

275) Ibid , f 127r

276) A O Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (first published 1936, Cambridge Mass , 1961), p 201, see also the same author's essay "Pride in Eighteenth-Century Thought", *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948) For contemporary condemnations of pride see for instance the following works Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon, *Moral Essays and Discourses upon Several Subjects* (London, 1690), p 169 f , J Trotti de la Chetardie, *Instructions for a Young Nobleman* (London, 1683), p 71 f , Lady Mary Chudleigh, *Essays upon several Subjects in Prose and Verse* (London, 1710), p 21 f , Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility* (London, 1685), p 10, Matthew Hale, *Contemplations Moral and Divine* (London, 1689), p 131 f , Obadiah Walker, *Of Education* (London, 1673), pp 88-89 and pp 228-229 For some of Pope's attacks on pride see *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, ll 201 204 and *Essay on Man*, 1733-4, Epistle I (*The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, general ed John Butt, vol I, *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, E Audra and Aubrey Williams, eds , pp 263-264 and vol III-1, *An Essay on Man*, Maynard Mack, ed , pp 11-51)

277) A O Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p 200

278) See for instance *Spectator*, nos 255, 256, 257 (vol 2, pp 493-500)

279) Cf BM, Add MSS 32549, ff 37r 38v, where Roger contends that humility is not in itself a virtue, but that it is relative and that it can sometimes be a vice

280) It is perhaps not accidental that this view of pride is also advanced by Jeremy Collier, another nonjuror (*Essays upon several moral Subjects*, 2 parts, London, 1697, part 1, "A Moral Essay upon Pride in a Conference between Philotimus and Philalethes", pp 1-47)

281) This paragraph is chiefly based on Dennis Rubini, *Court and Country 1688 1702* (London, 1967), ch 6, pp 131-156, Lois G Schwoerer, "The Literature of the Standing Army Controversy, 1697 1699", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 28, 1965, pp 187-212, Lois G Schwoerer, "Chronology and Authorship of the Standing Army Tracts, 1697-1699", *Notes and Queries*, New Series, 13, no 10, Oct 1966, pp 382 390, Lois G Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!" The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1974), J R Western, *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (London and Toronto, 1965)

282) Lois G Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!" The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England*, p 14

283) For Roger's comment on the Militia Act of 1661 see *Examen*, pp 428-429

284) BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 74v-79r

285) Ibid , f 77r

286) Cf Western, op cit , pp 97-100

287) For a discussion of these men and their unorthodox views see C Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge Mass , 1959)

288) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 79r and f 75v, this point is also made by Fletcher (*A Discourse concerning Militia's and Standing Armies*, London, 1697, pp 18 19), Trenchard (*An Argument shewing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a free Government* , London, 1697, p 28) and Toland (*The Militia Reform'd*, London, 1698, p 17)

289) Cf [John Somers], *A Letter ballancing the Necessity of keeping a Land-Force in Times of Peace with the dangers that may follow on it* (London, 1697), p 7

290) BM, Add.MSS 32526, ff 76r-78v, see for this also Fletcher, op.cit., pp.23-24 and Trenchard, *A Letter from the Author of the Argument against a Standing Army to the Author of the Balancing Letter* (London, 1697), p.8.

291) BM, Add.MSS 32526, ff 77r-78r, Trenchard, *An Argument shewing ...*, pp.18-19.

292) Fletcher, op cit , p 14 and p.16, Trenchard, *An Argument shewing ...*, p.11.

293) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 76v.

294) Roger's answer to the proposals of the radical Whigs is to be found in BM, Add. MSS 32526, ff 75r-75v

295) In Trenchard's and Toland's plans the militia would become almost a permanent army, because part of it would be kept in constant exercise (Trenchard, *An Argument shewing* , p.21 and Toland, op cit , pp 22-23 and p 25).

296) Fletcher, op cit., p.22.

297) BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.76v, f.78v, f.79r.

298) Ibid., f.79r

299) Bonamy Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700-1740* (Oxford, 1959, repr 1968), pp 310-311

300) For early eighteenth-century aesthetics see· B.S. Allen, *Tides in English Taste, 1619-1800* (2 vols , Cambridge Mass , 1937), W.J Bate, *From Classic to Romantic* (New York, 1961), Martin C. Battestin, *The Providence of Wit* (Oxford, 1974), Scott Elledge, ed , *Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays* (2 vols , Cornell U.P , 1961), A O. Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948), A.O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (first published 1936, Cambridge Mass., 1961), Irène Simon, *Neo-Classical Criticism 1660-1800* (London, 1971).

301) For Shaftesbury's views see J M Robertson, ed., *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (2 vols., London, 1900, repr. Gloucester, Mass., 1963), for Hutcheson's views see especially his treatise "Of Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design" in Scott Elledge, op.cit., vol 1, pp.349-375.

302) For the various meanings of "nature" see A.O. Lovejoy, "'Nature' as Aesthetic Norm", in *Essays in the History of Ideas*.

303) Louis I Bredvold, "The Tendency towards Platonism in Neo-Classical Esthetics", *Journal of English Literary History*, I, 1934, pp 98-99.

304) *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, vol. I, *Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism*, E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, eds , p.255.

305) See for this D G James, *The Life of Reason* (London, 1949) and George Williamson, "The Restoration Revolt against Enthusiasm", *Studies in Philology*, 30, 1933, pp. 571-603.

306) The *Spectator* contains several disparaging references to the imagination, for instance vol 1, p 158 and p.421 and vol. 2, p 555.

307) Robert K Merton, "Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England", *Osiris*, 4, 1938, pp.379-380.

308) Cf R L Brett, "The Aesthetic Sense and Taste in the Literary Criticism of the Early Eighteenth Century", *The Review of English Studies*, XX, 1944, pp.199-213.

309) See chapter II, p.49.

310) BM, Add MSS 32536, f.9v.

311) Roger North was not the only one to follow this line of argument. In his *Dialogue on Beauty* (1731) Philip Stubbs makes the same points (see Dobrée, op.cit., p.331).

312) BM, Add MSS 32540, f.50r

313) See for instance BM, Add.MSS 32537, f.100r and BM, Add.MSS.32538, f.78v.

314) John Wilson, ed , *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), p.293.

315) *Lives*, III, p 99

316) BM, Add.MSS 32539, f.61r.

317) BM, Add.MSS 32538, f.90r.

318) Ibid., ff 84v-85r.

319) Wilson, op.cit , p.173.

320) David Hume, "Of the Standard of Taste", *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757), this essay is to be found in Simon, op.cit. (pp.206-211)

321) E.K Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (Penguin Books, 1953), p.98

322) See for this Morris R Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England* (Oxford, 1978), David Irwin, *English Neo-Classical Art* (London, 1966), Waterhouse, op.cit., M.D Whinney and O. Millar, eds , *English Art, 1625-1714* (Oxford, 1957).

323) Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy, 1611-1665

324) For this see especially "The English Classical Background", Irwin, op.cit., pp.21-30.

325) Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (first published 1715, 2nd ed. London, 1725) and *Two Discourses* (London, 1719).

326) E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, op.cit., p.272.

327) "Of the Sublime", *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, pp 226-265.

328) G.N Clark, *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton* (Oxford, 1937, repr. 1970), pp.68-69

329) BM, Add.MSS.32504, BM, Add MSS 32538 and BM, Add.MSS.32539 contain nearly all of Roger's remarks on the subject of painting.

330) BM, Add MSS 32538, f 95r and ff 98r-98v.

331) Ibid., f 78v and f 85r

332) Ibid , ff 100r-101r

333) BM, Add.MSS 32504, f.21r.

334) BM, Add MSS 32539, f.73v.

335) BM, Add.MSS 32538, ff 75v-76v.

336) Ibid., f.80v.

337) Ibid , ff.77v-78r.

338) Ibid., f.88r.

339) BM, Add.MSS.32539, f 69v.

340) BM, Add MSS.32538, f.144v and BM, Add MSS.32539, f.70r, for brief accounts of Thomas Manby (?1633-1695) and Abraham Begeyn or Bega (1637-1697) see Luke Hermann, *British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), U. Thieme & F. Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Kunstler* (37 Bande, Leipzig, 1907-1950), Germain Bazin, C.A., eds., *Kindler's Malerei Lexikon* (VI vols., Zurich, 1964).

341) BM, Add MSS.32539, f 70r, for the Rotterdam painter Abraham Hondius (?-1695) see Thieme & Becker, op cit., and Waterhouse, op cit , p 77.

342) BM, Add MSS.32538, f.97v.

343) Ibid., f.98r.

344) Ibid., f 142v.

345) John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music* (London, 1959), Introduction, p.xxv.

346) Ibid., p.278 and p.303.

347) Ibid., p.109, Charles Avison (1709-1770), organist, composer and writer on music, whose best known work is *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 1752 (see E W Blom, ed., *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (5th ed., 9 vols., London and New York, 1954).

348) Wilson, op.cit., p.91, Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), French musical theorist and composer (see Blom, op.cit.)

349) "Cursory Notes of Musicke", North papers, Rougham, f.133, this tract of 224 pages was not seen by Wilson.

350) Wilson, op cit , p.60.

351) Ibid., p.68, Roger here refers to the opening lines of Sir John Denham's poem, "Cooper's Hill", published in 1642

352) Wilson, op.cit., p.291 and p.117.

353) Ibid., p.117 and p.130.

354) See for instance BM, Add.MSS 32533, f.2r and *Lives*, III, p.67.

355) Dudley, 4th Lord North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* (London, 1669), pp.120-121.

356) John Jenkins (1592-1678), English composer and musician to both Charles I and Charles II, Nicola Matteis (b. ?, d.?), seventeenth-century Italian violinist and composer who came over to England about 1672, Theodore Steffkins or Steifkin (d 1674), foreign violinist who went to England at the Restoration, Henry Purcell (1658?-1695), the well-known English composer, Captain Prencourt is a mysterious figure who apparently is mentioned only in Roger North's writings, Bernhard Schmidt or "Father Smith" (c.1630-1708), German organ-builder who went to England in 1660, Pier Francesco Tosi (1646-1732), Italian singing-master and composer who for the last forty years of his life lived chiefly in England, Johann (John) Pepusch (1667-1752), English composer of German birth who arrived in England about 1700 (see Blom, op.cit., and J A Westrup, "Foreign Musicians in Stuart England", *The Musical Quarterly*, 27, 1941, pp 70-89)

357) See E.D Mackerness, "A Speculative Dilettante", *Music and Letters*, 34, 1953, pp.236-242. Mackerness's statement that Roger had a "non-committal attitude towards the new music of his time" is not justified (cf. "Cursory Notes of Musicke", North papers, Rougham, f.192 and Wilson, op.cit., p 67).

358) Wilson, op cit , pp.289-290.

359) Ibid., pp 294-295.

360) Cf. John Harley, *Music in Purcell's London* (London, 1968), pp.169-170 and E D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (first published 1964, Greenwood Press, 1976), p.85.

361) BM, Add.MSS 32532, f.1v, BM, Add.MSS.32537, f.107v, *Lives*, III, pp.68-69 and p.73.

362) *Lives*, III, p.70.

363) E W. Blom, *Music in England* (Penguin Books, 1945), p.71, Harley, op.cit., pp. 153-155, Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, p 84.

364) Harley, op cit , p.153.

365) Wilson, op.cit , p.294 and p 350.

366) Ibid., p.295 f. and pp.346-348.

367) Ibid., p.307, Roger was all his life an admirer of Purcell's sonatas and he also praised Purcell's operas, of which he mentions by name "King Arthur", "The Fairy Queen" and "Diocletian".

368) Wilson, op.cit., p.358.

369) E.W. Blom, *Music in England*, p.84 f., P.H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (London, 1941, repr 1963), p.460.

370) Wilson, op.cit., p.67, p.259 and p.358.

371) BM, Add.MSS.32532, f 26v, Wilson, op.cit., pp.306-307.

372) Harley, op.cit., p.171, Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune, eds., *Opera and Church-Music 1630-1750*, vol. 5 of *The New Oxford History of Music* (London, 1975), pp.274-275.

373) Wilson, op.cit., p.313.

374) Ibid., p 314

375) Ibid , p.196

376) *Lives*, III, p.61, the best general survey of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English architecture is John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (first published 1953, Penguin Books, 1970), *The Pelican History of Art*.

377) BM, Add MSS.32540, f.16r, the five orders are Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite and Tuscan

378) BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.1r-68v and ff.69r-80v dates from the late seventeenth century and can be regarded for convenience sake as one essay; BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.1r-68v has been called "the most entertaining treatise on building in the English language" (H.M. Colvin, "Roger North and Sir Christopher Wren", *The Architectural Review*, 110, no.658, Oct. 1951, p.257). "Cursory Notes of Building occasioned by the Repair, or rather Metamorfosis of an old Hous in The Country" (North papers, Rougham, ff.158) belongs to the late 1720s.

379) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.10r and f.49v.

380) "Cursory Notes of Building ...", North papers, Rougham, f.24.

381) BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.13r-14r and f.72v; "Cursory Notes of Building ...", f.21 and f.23.

382) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.31r.

383) Ibid., f.51v.

384) Ibid., ff.32r-34v; for a brief discussion of Roger's treatment of the Gothic style see H.M. Colvin, "Aubrey's *Chronologia Architectonica*", *Concerning Architecture*, John Summerson, ed., (London, 1968), pp.2-3; John B. Nellist, *British Architecture and its Background* (London, 1967) gives "the most generally accepted divisions" in English Gothic architecture (p.103).

385) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.17v.

386) Ibid., f.18r.

387) Ibid., f.17r.

388) Ibid., f.77v; see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, pp.176-177.

389) *Spectator*, vol. 1, p.268 and p.271, vol. 3, p.556.

390) BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.31r-34v and f.70v.

391) See chapter I, p.27.

392) BM, Add.MSS.32540, f.8r.

393) Ibid., ff.7v-8r.

394) See for instance John Summerson's essay "The Tyranny of Intellect" in his book *Heavenly Mansions* (London, 1949) and H.M. Colvin, "Roger North and Sir Christopher Wren", *The Architectural Review*, 110, no.658, Oct. 1951, p.259; Kerry Downes, in his *Christopher Wren* (London, 1971), adopts a more favourable attitude towards Wren.

395) "Cursory Notes of Building ...", f.29; see also BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff.39v-40r.

396) Cf. Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London, 1966).

397) *Examen*, Preface, pp.x-xi.

398) *Examen*, p.31; it is perhaps interesting to note here that Roger's grandfather Dudley, 3rd Lord North, had applied himself to "character-writing" in his *Forest of Varieties* (London, 1645).

399) *Examen*, pp.118-123 and pp.509-510.

400) BM, Add.MSS.32511, ff.258v-259r.

401) BM, Add.MSS.32507, f.163v and *Lives*, I, p.327.

402) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.226v. Edward Herbert (1583-1648), whose *Life of Henry VIII* was published posthumously in 1649; William Camden (1551-1623), famous antiquary and historian who wrote several works of which *Britannia* (1586) and *Annales .. regnante Elizabetha* ... (1589) are probably the best known. The fact that Roger considered Camden and Herbert comparable as historians is very odd.

403) BM, Add.MSS.32525, ff.61v-62r.

404) *Reflections upon some passages in Mr. Le Clerc's Life of Mr. John Locke* (London, 1711), p.10; *Examen*, p. v and p.309; for a similar point of view see the "Preface" to Laurence Echard's *The History of England* (3 vols., London, 1707-1718).

405) Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653); R. Ferguson, *No Protestant Plot* (3 parts, 1681 and 1682); James

Welwood, *Memoirs of the Most Material Transactions in England, for the last Hundred Years* (1700), [John Somers], ed , *State Tracts* (2 parts, 1693), White Kennet, *A Complete History of England* (3 vols , 1706)

406) *Examen*, p xi, in his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) George Buchanan advances the doctrine that the source of political power is the people

407) BM, Add MSS 32525, f 37v Jean Froissart (1337-1410?), French historian, famous for his *Chroniques*, which cover the period 1325-1400 and deal with the affairs of various European countries, Philippe de Commines (c 1445-1511), historian of Flemish origin, who wrote chronicles of Louis XI and Charles VIII, John Spottiswoode, *The History of the Church of Scotland* (1655), Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (3 vols , 1702-1704)

408) *Reflections upon some passages in Mr Le Clerc's Life of Mr John Locke* (London, 1711), p 11

409) James L Clifford, "Roger North and the Art of Biography", *Restoration and Eighteenth Century Literature*, C Camden, ed (Chicago and London, 1963), pp 275-285, E D Mackerness, "Introduction" to *Roger North The Lives of the Norths Edited by A Jessopp* (Farnborough, 1972), Peter T Millard, "An Edition of Roger North's 'Life of Dr John North' with a Critical Introduction", D Phil Oxford, Sept 1969, ch IV, R W Ketton-Cremer, "Roger North", *Essays and Studies*, D M Stuart, ed (London, 1959), pp 73-86, Donald A Stauffer, *The Art of Biography in Eighteenth Century England* (Princeton, 1941), pp 354-369

410) Two drafts of this "General Preface", the first of 64 pages in Roger's handwriting, the second of 44 pages in a different handwriting, are prefixed to the St John's College version of the Life of Lord Guilford (St John's College Library, Cambridge, MS James 613), a fragment completing the unfinished first draft of the "General Preface" is to be found in BM, Add MSS 32526, ff 130r 133r BM, Add MSS 32525 has a third draft of the "General Preface", which is only partly in Roger's handwriting, (ff 1r-42v) and also a "praeface by way of Essay upon y^e^ usefulness of private Biografie" (ff 43r-63v) in Roger's handwriting

411) Clifford, op cit , p 282, for a discussion of Johnson's theory of biography as put forward in *Rambler*, no 60 and *Idler*, no 84, see Stauffer, op cit , p 388 f

412) *Lives*, I, p 100, see also BM, Add MSS 32525, f 14v

413) Clifford, op cit , p 283, see also Millard, op cit , p 115

414) Clifford, op cit , pp 277 278 and Stauffer, op cit , p 366

415) Clifford, op cit , pp 276 277

416) See for instance BM, Add MSS 32525, f 23r

417) Cf W J Bate and Albrecht B Strauss, eds , *The Rambler* (New Haven and London, 1969), vol III of *The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, p 319

418) *Lives*, I, p 100

419) BM, Add MSS 32525, f 14r, M Sylvester, ed , *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (1696)

420) BM, Add MSS 32525, f 29v, Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester written by his own direction on his death-bed* (1680) and *The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale* (1682)

421) BM, Add MSS 32525, f 14r and f 14v Melchior Adamus, *Vitae Germanorum Theologorum* (Heidelberg, 1620) in 1641 part of this work was translated into English by Thomas Hayne under the title *The Life and Death of D^r^ Martin Luther*, Gassendi, *Vita Peireskii* (1641), translated into English by W Rand in 1657, *La Vie de J B Morin Enrichie de plusieurs reflexions astrologiques* (1660), Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr Richard Hooker, Mr George Herbert* (2 vols , 1670), Robert Nelson, *The Life of George Bull Bishop of St David's* (1713), [Francis Lee], ed ,

A Compleat Collection of the Works of ... J.K. [John Kettlewell] ... *To which is prefix'd, The Life of the Author ... Compiled from the Collection of G. Hickes and R. Nelson* (2 vols., 1719).

422) See chapter I, p.20.

423) See note 180 to chapter I; Terence, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, and Virgil are the classical poets and dramatists whom he refers to either directly or indirectly.

424) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.230r.

425) Cf. C.J. Horne, "Literature and Science", *From Dryden to Johnson*, vol. 4 of *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, Boris Ford, ed. (Penguin Books, 1963), pp.189-190; D.G. James, *The Life of Reason* (London, 1949), p.35 and p.41; Robert K. Merton, op. cit., pp.378-379, George Williamson, op.cit., p.572, p.586, p.603.

426) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.38v.

427) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.37v and BM, Add.MSS.32530, ff.39v-40v.

428) "Observations occasioned by Reading wilsons History of K. James", North papers, Rougham, 23C5; see also BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.9r. Perhaps Roger's distrust of metaphors and figurative language was not just a reflection of the taste of his day, for, in his *Forest of Varieties*, written about 1610-1612, Roger's grandfather Dudley, 3rd Lord North, criticized metaphysical poetry for its use of conceits and hyperbolical language (see L.A. Beaurline, "Dudley North's Criticism of Metaphysical Poetry", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 25, 1961-2, pp.299-313).

429) BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.39v-41r and BM, Add.MSS.32530, ff.40v-42r.

430) BM, Add.MSS.32529, ff.41r-43v and BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.42r f., Charles Butler (died 1647) published in 1633 *The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables and Words in the English Tongue*; John Wilkins (1614-1672), bishop of Chester, published in 1668 *An Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language*.

431) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.45v and BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.48r.

432) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.30r.

433) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.49r.

434) BM, Add.MSS.32541, f.169r.

435) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.45v.

436) BM, Add.MSS.32529, f.86r.

437) Jonathan Swift, *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712), *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, Herbert Davis, ed. (13 vols., Oxford, 1939-1959), vol. 4, pp.5-21.

438) BM, Add.MSS.32530, ff.47r-48r, in his essay "Language 1660-1784" (*From Dryden to Johnson*, vol. 4 of *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, Boris Ford, ed., pp.125-141) A.S. Collins discusses this desire, after the Restoration, both to reform and stabilize the language.

439) Science was a very important factor in the development of a utilitarian attitude towards language in the seventeenth century; for the influence of science on prose-style see R.F. Jones, "Science and English Prose-Style, 1650-1675", and "Science and Language in England of the Mid-Seventeenth Century", resp. pp.53-89 and pp.94-111 in Stanley E. Fish, ed., *Seventeenth-Century Prose* (New York, 1971).

440) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.48v.

441) Cf. chs. III and IV of the First Part of *Leviathan* (C.B. Macpherson, ed., *Leviathan*, Penguin Books, 1968); see also A.C. Howell, "*Res et Verba*: Words and Things", Fish, op.cit., pp.187-199.

442) BM, Add.MSS.32530, f.48v. Roger was not original in giving this qualification of the Senecan style; cf. J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, A. Clark, ed. (Oxford, 1898), vol. 2, p.25; "Dr. Kettle was wont to say that 'Seneca writes as a boar doth pisse', silicet, by jirkes". For accounts of the Ciceronian and Senecan prose-styles in English and the reactions against

them in the seventeenth century see the articles of Morris W Croll in Stanley E Fish, op cit , and George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble* (London, 1951)

443) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 33r

444) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 32r and f 146r f

445) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 34v

446) Nicolas Perrot, Sieur d'Ablancourt, *Lucien, de la traduction de N Perrot, S^r d'Ablancourt* (2 vols , Paris, 1654)

447) BM, Add MSS 32530, ff 32v-33r, f 34v, f 77r, Dryden did not think very highly of Hobbes's translation of the *Iliad*, see "Preface to the Fables", *The Poems and Fables of John Dryden*, James Kinsley, ed (OUP Paperback, 1970), p 524

448) "When I make choice of a Subject that has not been treated of by others, I throw together my Reflections on it without any Order or Method, so that they may appear rather in the Looseness and Freedom of an Essay, then in the Regularity of a Set Discourse", *Spectator*, vol 2, p 465

449) BM, Add MSS 32522, f 2r, BM, Add MSS 32529, f 2r, BM, Add MSS 32530, f 2v

450) BM, Add MSS 32522, f 2r, Michel de Montaigne (1533 1592), *Essais*, 1580 and 1588, Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), *Pensees*, published posthumously in 1670, John Selden (1584-1654), *Table Talk*, published posthumously in 1689

451) BM, Add MSS 32535, f 2v

452) BM, Add MSS 32530, f 2v

453) See p 79

454) BM, Add MSS 32545, f 4v

455) Cf Melvin R Watson, "The *Spectator* Tradition and the Development of the Familiar Essay", *Journal of English Literary History*, 13, 1946, pp 189 215 and A R Humphreys, *Steele, Addison and their Periodical Essays* (British Council Pamphlet, 1959) For further reading on the development of the essay in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century see James Sutherland, *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1969), pp 220-230, Bonamy Dobree, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700 1740* (Oxford, 1959, repr 1968), pp 189-215, Bonamy Dobrée, *English Essayists* (London, 1946), Jane H Jack, "The Periodical Essayists", *From Dryden to Johnson*, vol 4 of *The Pelican Guide to English Literature*, Boris Ford, ed , pp 217-229

456) Sutherland, op cit , p 227

457) See Clifford, op cit , p 275, Ketton-Cremer, op cit , p 76, W S Holdsworth, *A History of English Law* (13 vols , London, 1922-1952), vol 6, p 620

458) BM, Add MSS 32529, f 226r

459) For general accounts of the development of English prose-style in Restoration and Augustan England see James Sutherland, *On English Prose* (Toronto, 1975), ch III, and Ian A Gordon, *The Movement of English Prose* (London, 1966), chs 12 and 13

460) I will not give examples here because the essays in the second half of the book will sufficiently illustrate these points

461) See p 96

462) This term is used by Stauffer (op cit , p 368)

463) G N Clark, "Introductory", p 24, *The Social and Political Ideas of some English Thinkers of the Augustan Age, A D 1650-1750*, F J C Hearnshaw, ed (London, 1928, repr 1967)

464) George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, W J Harvey, ed (Penguin Books, 1965), p 634

Essays

1) Suggested emendation: ... that have had much entertainment in tracking a harmless truth...

2) Cf. Roger's remarks on the relativity of our judgments of magnitude and force in his essay on "p[r]judice" (BM, Add.MSS 32526, ff 96r-107v).

3) This is a very Lockean remark, see *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Bk III, ch. X, "Of the Abuse of Words" (Everyman's Library, 2 vols., John W. Yolton, ed., vol 2, pp.89-120).

4) Slip for "fastuous" = haughty, arrogant, pretentious.

5) i e. relatively speaking.

6) i.e. venture their lives in very dangerous or even hopeless cases ("perdue" = placed as an outpost, scout etc in an extremely hazardous position)

7) Probably Roger has here the activities of the Earl of Shaftesbury in Charles II's reign in mind.

8) Perhaps Roger refers to the custom in ancient Rome of bestowing honorary titles upon persons as a reward for great achievements such as conquests and victories, cf. Publius Cornelius Scipio *Africanus* and Gaius Marcius *Coriolanus*

9) Suggested emendation. But the fact that titles are now made hereditary means that these titles come by descent to ...

10) Probably a reference to the invasion of William of Orange in 1688.

11) "Camel" = *fig.* in allusion to Matthew 23,24 (AV), anything large and difficult to "swallow".

12) Cf. Cicero's poem *De Consolatu Suo* which contains the line o fortunatam natam me consule Romam (i e oh happy Rome that was only really born when I became consul), there are numerous expressions of self-praise in his orations and letters, and there is his request addressed to contemporary poets and historians to glorify his achievements (*Epistula ad Familiares*, 5,12). See also Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's Lives, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, VIII vols., Oxford, 1928, vol. VI, p.165, p.187, p 222.

13) The woodcock as the type of gullibility or folly.

14) In BM, Add MSS.32526 (f.36r f.) Roger deals at some length with the "Involuntary vitall actions" of the heart, the intestines and the vessels

15) i.e , as it is customary to rail at learning.

16) More than once the word "as" is used before adjectives and adverbs in a meaningless way.

17) i.e. crisis (see Appendix I).

18) A reference to the essays on "Breeding" (BM, Add MSS.32523, ff.132r-141v and BM, Add MSS 32526, ff.50v-54v).

19) Roger deals with this point in his essays on sense-perception (BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.11r f).

20) In his essay "Of Dressing" (BM, Add.MSS 32526, ff.57r-59v) Roger mentions as examples of people who dressed in this way the Earl of Rochester, the Earl of Sunderland and Sidney Godolphin (f 57v).

21) Greek "ἦθος" and Latin "mores" mean a) morals, manners, b) character.

22) Latin "insolentia" means a) unaccustomedness, unwontedness, b) impertinence.

23) "Their" refers to an implied "the rest of the company, the others".

24) For this see John Ray, *Observations topographical, moral & physiological, made in a Journey through part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France* .. (London, 1673), p.393 f.

25) "I have heard you say that the French courtiers wear their hats on 'fore the king", *The Duchess of Malfi*, Act II, sc. 1. ll 132-133 (C.B. Wheeler, ed , *Six plays by Contem-*

poraries of Shakespeare, Oxford, 1901, p.419).

26) In August 1670 George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, stayed at the French court as ambassador extraordinary (C.H. Firth and S.C. Lomas, eds., *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France 1603-1688*, Oxford, 1906, p.21). I have not been able to find a reference to the above-mentioned anecdote.

27) i.e., it does not become me.

28) For a confirmation of this see G.L.Apperson, *The Social History of Smoking* (London, 1914), p.25, pp.29-30, p.57, pp.89-90. The "time" referred to by Roger was the end of the sixteenth and the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century.

29) I have not been able to find a corroboration of this statement.

30) "(Greek and Roman mythology) a sea-god ... fabled to assume various shapes; hence allusively, one who or that which assumes various forms, aspects or characters" (*OED*).

31) Roger devoted a separate essay to the subject of affectation (BM, Add MSS.32526, ff.55r-56r)

32) Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 99-104 and especially 102-103: ... si vis me flere, dolendum est/primum ipsi tibi, ... (i.e., if you [the author] want me to cry, you will first have to mourn yourself).

33) The play in question is Sir Robert Howard's comedy *The Committee*, published in 1665 as one of *Four New Plays*, and the line Roger refers to is: "Driving the lint from his black cloathes with his wet thumb" (Act II, sc 1.1 88).

34) i e entitled (see Appendix I)

35) Perhaps "Monky" here denotes a toy.

36) i.e. in the manner of proposing it.

37) Suggested emendation. all manner of reproof is discovered [i.e. revealed].

38) i.e., it is the comparison that shows up the difference between them.

39) Perhaps Roger refers here to Sir Peter Lely.

40) Probably a reference to nonjurors like himself.

41) William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1678 to the Revolution.

42) At Rougham or in the country.

43) Limping before cripples, i.e trying to beat them at their own game; this was an old proverbial phrase (cf. G.L.Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, first published 1929, Detroit, 1969, p.280).

44) Latin "assentatio".

45) Suggested emendation. nor must their authority be in any way depreciated.

46) Cf. Thomas Blundeville, *The Arte of Rydynge* (London, 1609), p.12 and Gervase Markham, *Countrey Contentments* (2 parts, London, 1615), pt.1, ch.2.

47) Juvenal, *Saturae*, 14, 47 Maxima debetur puero reverentia; see also BM, Add.MSS. 32506, f.12r and *Lives*, III, p.7, where Roger uses a slightly different variant, viz. "pueris" instead of "puero" (for this and for most of the following Latin proverbs and proverbial sayings I have consulted Georg Buchmann, *Geflugelte Worte*, Berlin, 1918).

48) For the same story see BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.53v.

49) Refined, over-refined (see Appendix I).

50) Probably Roger has his eldest brother Charles in mind here (see chapter I, pp.2 and 17).

51) Boorish, clumsy (see Appendix I)

52) "Of Affectation" (BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.55r-56r), "Of Dressing" (BM, Add.MSS. 32526, ff.57r-59v).

53) Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 3, 425-426. ... semper tibi pendeat hamus:/quo minime credas gurgite, piscis erit (i.e., always leave your angle in the water: there will be a fish where you least expect it).

54) Horace, *Saturae*, 1,3,68 nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur optimus ille est qui minime urgetur (i e , for no one is born without faults, he is the best who is troubled least)

55) Suggested emendation the obtaining of fame is good, the incurring of infamy evil, this rule does not have absolute validity, it should be taken in the sense that in most cases a man will choose fame, although occasionally he will be bound to choose infamy

56) i e go away, leave us, do not visit us anymore

57) *First Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians* 4,11 (AV) and that you study to be quiet, and to do your own business (see also *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 2nd ed , London, 1959, p 68)

58) i e credit or repute in the world

59) Either "it", "they" and "them" all refer to the same word, viz "means", or "with it" could mean simply "withal"

60) Suggested emendation It is a heedless way of proceeding in life when people either do not make any but go on deluded and so go wasting

61) Roger's attitude here shows a remarkable resemblance to the views held by his father on this subject "They [i e many of the nobility and gentry] consider high living as a great happinesse, and the least diminution of pomp, as a great dishonour, which causeth them to continue their wastful way For this the remedy is easie, for common prudence forbids all men to continue in a consumptive condition, without absolute necessity, and therefore much better it is (though it give occasion of discourse to the people) to slack sail betimes by a reduction of the grounds of their expence, then to be dishonoured at last totally" (Dudley, 4th Lord North, *Observations and Advices Oeconomical*, London, 1669, pp 107-108)

62) Suggested emendation are somewhat more tender ,or have something more tender

63) i e , they would appear to come off better than the men

64) i e , the worry is taken away

65) Suggested emendation from this inclination to emulation and pride

66) i e , who are generally in a position to dispose of employments

67) See chapter III, p 81 and the corresponding note

68) The last part of the sentence, "wer[e] Joyned with them," had better be left out

69) I suppose that ye" is a slip for "and"

70) "of y^{e} English Militia" looks more like a lawyer's brief than an essay

71) Cf Marjorie Quennell and C H B Quennell, *A History of Everyday Things in England 1066 1799* (2 parts, London, 1918), pt 2, pp 60-61

72) i e , I do not mean that this change will take place suddenly, but when there has been peace for a considerable time

73) A reference to the formation by Cromwell of the New Model Army (cf C H Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England*, first published 1900, The World's Classics, 1972, ch V "Cromwell in the Eastern Association", pp 84 99)

74) Most probably a reference to the many pamphlets written on this subject in the period 1697 1699 (see chapter III, p 84) [John Somers], *A Letter ballancing the Necessity of keeping a Land Force in Times of Peace with the dangers that may follow upon it* (London, 1697) mentions the danger of an invasion (p 2)

75) i e the Prince of Orange's coming

76) The number of 12,000 is confirmed by both contemporary and modern accounts of the invasion, cf R C Neville, Lord Braybrooke (ed), *The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston K B of Skreens* (Camden Society, no 23, London, 1845), p 319, J R Western, *Monarchy and Revolution the English State in the 1680s* (London, 1972), p 259, J R Jones, *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (London, 1972), p 288 As regards the number of vessels T B Macaulay (*The History of England, from the accession of James II*, 3 vols , London, 1927) speaks of "More than six hundred vessels" (vol 2, p 73)

77) The actual landing took place on 5 November 1688. G.M Trevelyan (*The English Revolution 1688-1689*, London, 1938, repr 1976) asserts that by the end of September the invasion-plans were generally known (p.56). On 28 September 1688 James II issued a proclamation stating that he had been informed of Dutch plans for an invasion of England (*The Autobiography of Sir John Bramston K B. of Skreens*, p.318). See also F.C. Turner, *James II* (London, 1948), p.407.

78) These were troops sent to Flanders in February 1678 to cooperate with the Spanish against France (Richard Lodge, *The History of England ... 1660-1702*, vol. 8 of W. Hunt and R.L. Poole (eds.), *The Political History of England*, London, 1910, pp.148-149 and David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, OUP Paperback, 1967, pp.550-552).

79) See note 74.

80) See Nathaniel Boothe (ed.), *A Military Discourse* (transcribed from the papers of Sir Walter Raleigh), London, 1734, p.3 f.

81) i.e., may there be justice, and let it be clear justice; and then neither heaven nor earth constrains it or can constrain it. Perhaps this is a variant of "fiat justitia et pereat mundus", Joannes Manlius, *Locorum Communium Collectanea*, Basileae, 1563, 2, 290 (see Georg Buchmann, *Geflugelte Worte*, Berlin, 1918, p.506).

82) i.e., who is to keep guard over the guards themselves? (Juvenal, *Saturae*, 6, 347-348).

83) "Upon a dispute betwixt a Stag and a Horse about a piece of Pasture, the Stag got the Better on't and beat the Other out of the Field. The Horse upon this Affront, Advis'd with a Man what Course to Take, who told him, that if he would Submit to be Bridled, and Saddled, and take a Man upon his Back with a Lance in his Hand, he would Undertake to give him the Satisfaction of a Revenge. The Horse came to his Terms, and for the Gratifying of a Present Passion, made himself a Slave all the days of his Life..." (Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables of Aesop*, London, 1692, p.56).

84) Greek κληροσ, Roger refers here to the literal meaning of the word, i.e. lot, that which is assigned by lot, legacy, inheritance.

85) I suppose that "world" is a slip for "worldly".

86) Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 101: tantum religio potuit suadere malorum, i.e., so many evils have been occasioned by religion.

87) The adjective "putus" is often joined with "purus" ("purus putus", "purus ac putus", "purus et putus"), meaning "purely, solely".

88) Suggested emendation. And the considerations of religiousness and justice. . .

89) i.e. in order that, with respect to, here Roger clearly refers to the Anglican ordination formula (see F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, 2 vols., London, 1915, vol. 2, *The Forme and Manner of Making, Ordeining and Consecrating Priests and Deacons, According to the Order of the Church of England*, London, 1661, pp.928-1017; see also William Wake, *The State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils...*, London, 1703).

90) F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, vol. 2: "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office..." (p.951).

91) Archbishop Sancroft.

92) i.e. indelible, imperishable, irrevocable.

93) i.e., accept your cure and mine (Brightman, op.cit., gives the phrases: "Take thou authority to execute the office of..." and "Take thou authority to preach the word of God...", p.953 and p.995).

94) i.e. as much from the heart as from the mouth of the bishop (Brightman, op. cit., "Et sit in corde et in ore tuo", p.952)

95) i.e. from the secular arm.

96) The sorcerer of Samaria who tried to purchase miraculous powers by offering the Apostles money, *Acts of the Apostles*,8, 18-19 (AV), cf. the word "simony".

97) Roger could be referring here to the recent persecutions of the Protestants in France,

following upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

98) i.e., that equal things are not equal to equal things.

99) i.e. the opposite (plural of the Latin substantive "contrarium").

100) Hobbes actually advanced this theory (see his *Decameron Physiologicum. or, Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy to which is added the Proportion of a straight Line to half the Arc of a Quadrant*, London, 1678, pp.133-136).

101) In 1627 Hugo Grotius published his *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*.

102) Archbishop Sancroft.

103) The very subtle substance which was believed to permeate all space.

104) Robert Frampton (1622-1678), bishop of Gloucester who upon the Revolution became a nonjuror, lived in Turkey for twelve years (from 1655 to 1667) as chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo (see T. Simpson Evans, ed., *The Life of Robert Frampton*, London,1876). I have not been able to trace the event referred to here.

105) Roger's optimistic view of man as expressed here is clearly part of his argument rather than a permanent conviction.

106) A similar point was made by Gilbert Burnet (*Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*, 6 vols , Edinburgh, 1753, vol 3, p.79).

107) III Esdras (i.e. the reputed author of two books of the Apocrypha) = Ezra 4, 41 *Vulgata*. magna est veritas et praevalet, i.e. great is the truth, and it always prevails.

108) See note 93 to chapter III.

109) The religious toleration of the Turks was an established fact at the time, see for instance Anthony Collins, *A Discourse of Freethinking* (London, 1713), pp.102-103

110) Suggested emendation. It is a strange sight at Constantinople when the friars ([cr]ude ones as they are) are to be seen going ... Christian; so also the Jews can be seen bawling out ...

111) Lit. with impunity as not subject to the Church of Rome, i.e. it is safer to become a Turk than to be accused of heresy as a Christian.

112) "The importance of bread as a primary necessary of life was responsible for a series of attempts, extending from the 13th to the 19th century, to regulate the weight and price of bread in accordance with a sliding scale known as the Assize of Bread ... The Assize of Bread was based upon the principle that in the sale of an article of prime necessity 'the price should be moderate', and 'all temptation to the seller to deceive the buyer either in its quality or weight should be counteracted as far as possible' ", E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (2nd ed., 3 vols., London, 1934), vol. 2, pp.424-425; see also vol. 3, pp.441-442, and N S.B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (Cambridge Mass., 1926), p.68 and pp.132-133.

113) In 1545 the rate of interest was fixed at 10%, in 1625 it was fixed at 8%, in 1651 at 6% and in 1714 at 5% (see E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England*, 5th ed., London, 1948, vol. 3, p.225; J B.,*The Interest of Great Britain consider'd, in an Essay upon Wool, Tin and Leather* ..., London, 1707, p.92, Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714*, Sphere Books, 1969, p.137). This puts the date of the essay some time before 1714.

114) Cf. J. Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne* (2 vols., London, 1882), vol. 1, p 167 and p.179; J.B., *The Interest of Great Britain consider'd, in an Essay upon Wool, Tin and Leather* ... (London, 1707), "To The Reader" and p.11.

115) Coffee was introduced into England just after the middle of the seventeenth century, and by the end of the century it was in general use (John Ellis, *An Historical Account of Coffee*, London, 1774, pp.13-15).

116) Matthew 7,12 and Luke 6,31 (AV); see also *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (3rd ed., revised by F.P. Wilson, Oxford, 1970), p.191

117) Roger is all the time also justifying his own practice of selling fish.

118) Strictly speaking it should be: chi vende vino per tutto l'anno, i.e. who sells wine all the year through, for the practice of the Italian noblemen to sell their own wine see John Ray, *Observations topographical, moral & physiological, made in a Journey through part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France*. (London, 1673), p.336.

119) A well-known legal phrase meaning: let the buyer be on his guard (cf. J.B., *The Interest of Great Britain consider'd, in an Essay upon Wool, Tin and Leather* ..., London, 1707, pp.114-115).

120) I have not been able to establish that this was a typically Northern word.

121) i.e. necessity forces men to evil

122) i.e. lovers of truth (see Appendix I).

123) Many booksellers had their shops in Paul's Churchyard (Arthur Bryant, *Restoration England*, London, 1960, p.37).

124) This phrase was used by Jean-Louis Guez, seigneur de Balzac (1595-1654) in his *Le Barbon* (Paris, 1648), a satire on pedantry (A. Hatzfeld & A. Darmesteter, *Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française*, Paris, 1920, for an account of de Balzac see George Grente, *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, Paris, 1954, pp.126-127).

125) A reference to the Pentecost, *Acts of the Apostles*, 2, 2-13 (AV).

126) A state of the old German empire, under the rule of the "Pfalzgraf" or Count Palatine of the Rhine.

127) i e. very inviting.

128) Used as a substantive: the vacancy of a see or seat. I have left out Roger's account of the third category, the "Barbarous", because the manuscript pages in question are hardly legible. By the "Barbarous" he means the savages who suffer from "a totall defect of literature, of w^{ch} they have No sort of Influence, Mediate or Immediate, as the rest of y^{e} world More or less hath" (f.19v).

129) As a legal phrase this is still in use in the meaning of "technical terms".

130) Cf. Locke's positing of the mind at birth as a "tabula rasa" (*An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book I).

131) i.e. if.

132) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 18,6,18: actum et conclamatum est, i.e. it is all over, see also Terence, *Eunuchus*, 348.

133) i.e. technical terms (see Appendix I).

134) Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) published his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, better known as *Vulgar Errors* in 1646 (see Book IV, ch. xiii, p 254 for the "suppedaneous stability").

135) i e. nominative plural of the Latin adjective "compos" = having a (thorough) command of.

136) "stagnum" or "stannum" = an alloy of silver and lead.

137) Lit. "an imprinted force", a stone thrown by the hand moves because the hand has given it a "vis impressa" (this explanation of motion was current for a long time before Newton finally explained motion and rest in terms of the law of inertia).

138) "*Astron.* apparent displacement, or difference in the apparent position, of an object, caused by actual change (or difference) of position of the point of observation; *spec.* the angular amount of such displacement or difference of position, being the angle contained between the two straight lines drawn to the object from the two different points of view, and constituting a measure of the distance of the object" (*OED*).

139) "*Astron.* the angular distance of a planet etc. from its last perihelion or perigree; so called because the first irregularities of planetary motion were discovered in the discrepancy between the actual and the computed distance" (*OED*)

140) i.e. nominative plural of the Latin substantive "tractatulus" = small treatise.

141) i.e the title of the periodical publication of the Royal Society.

142) For this see Sir Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1668), ch. VIII, "Of the Mutes and Dwarfs", pp.34-35.

143) Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 343 omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci, i.e. he gains all the applause who combines the useful with the pleasant.

144) For the first see f.37r.

145) For examples of this see *Timaeus* 23, *Topica* 8, 35, *De optimo genere oratorum* 18.

146) This is certainly the case, it may also be noted here that one of the points of the theory of letter-writing was· Graece aliquid addere litteris suave est, i.e. it is pleasant to insert Greek words or expressions in letters (Gaius Julius Victor, *Ars Rhetorica*, "De Epistolis", 30).

147) A digression on the origin of minds (ff.24v-28v) has been omitted from this essay, as being too vague and speculative.

148) Cf. Descartes (*Les Passions de l'Ame*, 1650), Hobbes (*Human Nature*, 1650 and *Leviathan*, 1651), Spinoza (*Ethica*, 1677), Locke (*An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, 1690).

149) This is not correct, Spinoza (*Ethica*, part III) and Locke (*An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, Book II, ch. XX) first deal with pleasure and pain and then they derive all the emotions from these two fundamental forms.

150) Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, part IV.

151) St. Augustine more than once advances this point, see e.g. his *De Libero Arbitrio*, liber III, cap. 7 and 8. Thomas Aquinas also deals with this question in his *Summa Totius Theologiae* (Supplementum 98,3).

152) A reference to Epicurus and the Epicurean philosophy.

153) Suggested emendation upon the object being presented

154) See the essays on sense-perception preceding this one (BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff. 8v-19r).

155) Suggested emendation: Now considering that this perception of ourselves is modified by the objects that cause it, and with them I must concern the state of the body, through which sensations are being conveyed, the temper and complexion of it may vary the mode of sensations, and this mode may also be varied by diversifying the object.

156) This is obviously not the case.

157) i.e. a form of torture, originally the story of Ixion who was bound by Zeus on a fiery wheel rolling for ever through the skies, this as a punishment for his attempt at seducing Hera, Zeus's wife (cf P Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la Mythologie Grecque et Romaine*, Paris, 1951 and M Grant and J. Hazel, *Who's Who in Classical Mythology*, London, 1973).

158) i.e. the rock-face on the Capitoline Hill at Rome over which persons convicted of treason were thrown headlong.

159) C.B. Macpherson (ed.), *Leviathan* (Penguin Books, 1968), Part I, ch. VI, p.122.

160) i.e. and not in our inability to supply it (= that virtue)

161) Suggested emendation. and since this discharge is so allied to the mind ...

162) Perhaps Roger refers here to BM, Add.MSS.32526, f.45r where he gives a one-page discussion of the memory.

163) "Of Humane Capacity" (BM, Add.MSS.32526, ff.34v-47r).

164) i.e. the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid's *Elements*.

165) For Roger's views on building see also his essays "Of Building" and "Architecture" (BM, Add.MSS.32540, ff 1r-80v) and "Cursory Notes of Building ...", North papers, Rougham.

166) Probably Roger refers here to BM, Add MSS.32548, ff 141r-142r where he deals with the beauty of the world as a possible argument for the existence of God

167) Roger clearly prefers the greater variety and the more "composed" beauty of Greenwich to the simplicity and wildness of Cooper's Hill. For a description of Cooper's Hill

see for instance J Thorne, *Handbook to the Environs of London* (London, 1876), pp 116-117 and for Greenwich, Nikolaus Pevsner, *London* (vol. 2, *The Buildings of England*, first published 1952, repr. 1974), pp.136-161, and Guy Williams, *The Royal Parks of London* (London, 1978), pp.134-150.

168) Sir William Temple (1628-1699), whose three volumes of *Miscellanea* were published in 1680, 1692 and 1701. The *Miscellanea* includes the essay "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus" to which Roger refers here (for a discussion of this question see A.O. Lovejoy's essay "The Chinese Origin of a Romanticism" in his *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore, 1948) Roger did not think very highly of Temple and he considered him vain: "... S^{r} W^{m} Temple, an author whom party and witt conspired to Make Eminent: In all his wrightings his constant Method was to depress others & Rais himself ... he bore about with him y^{e} tokens of an uncommon vanity, ffor he had a strang Infelicity In y^{e} garb of his person, w^{ch} was fantastically active Enough to create suspicion of insanity. As for his wrightings In generall they shew he had dipt in all subjects but Not drawne up Enough to make his readers Ever y^{e} wiser. If his person had never bin seen, Nor his books printed, he Might have past ffor a great statesman". (BM, Add.MSS.32530, f 10v).

169) See note 163.

170) Suggested emendation. .. what the process will be and with what hazards and conduct ...

171) *Physics* was the title of Aristotle's work on natural science.

172) Roger mistakenly uses a negative sign here; it should be "Ac + 3 AEE + 3AEA + Ec = y^{e} Cube of A+E", or stated otherwise $a^3 + 3ab^2 + 3a^2b + b^3 = (a+b)^3$.

173) Cf. Margaret 'Espinasse, "The Decline and Fall of Restoration Science" (Charles Webster, ed , *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, London and Boston, 1974, pp 347-368).

174) Suggested emendation. . to gather experiments that few regard and to examine if they do apply ...

175) i e Euclid's proposition.

176) Roger is claiming too much for Descartes here.

177) A reference to John Wallis's *A Discourse of Gravity and Gravitation* (London, 1675).

178) Roger is not quite correct in his formulation. He refers to the so-called "compound eye" of insects, an eye made up of numerous "points", each of them directed towards a different part of the visual field and enabling the insect to see before, behind as well as at the side. Yet each of these "points" gives not a complete but only a fragmentary picture, and one cannot in fact speak of "numerous eyes" or of "an eye directed to almost ..." (cf *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed repr., Chicago, London, etc 1973, under "Vision").

179) I do not know of any indication in Newton's work that would justify Roger's allegation

180) To the adherents of the new science in the seventeenth century Aristotle was the source of everything that had been wrong in natural science.

181) I G. Pardies, *Discours du Mouvement Local* (3me éd., La Haye, 1691), "Préface" and pp.67-72 (see also chapter II, p 51).

182) Christiaan Huygens, *Cosmotheoros*, 1698, Liber II (cf. J.J. Le Roy, *Cultuurhistorische Schetsen*, Zutphen, 1926, p.244).

183) See chapter II, p.54, Liber II, Sectio IX of the *Principia* contains Newton's attack on the vortices.

184) This is not correct, see chapter II, p.42.

185) It is not clear what "papers" Roger refers to here, in the manuscript (BM, Add.MSS. 32526) the "p^{r}face to a philosofick Essay" is not immediately followed by any scientific papers.

186) John Wilkins, *Discovery of a New World, or Discourse on the World in the Moon* (1638)

187) Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Entretiens sur la Pluralite des Mondes* (1686)

188) See note 182

189) Nicolas Malebranche, *De la Recherche de la Verite* (1674), "Malebranche's outlook was definitely that of a Christian philosopher who made no rigid separation between theology and philosophy and who was intent on interpreting the world and human experience in the light of his Christian faith" (F C Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol 4, *Modern Philosophy Descartes to Leibniz*, Image Books, New York, 1963, p 188)

190) Roger refers here to his general work on natural philosophy which was never written (see chapter I, p 23 and chapter II, p 33)

191) The name of a giant or monster in ancient Greek mythology

192) The Latin word for "rich (man)", commonly taken as the proper name of the rich man in the parable of Lazarus (Luke 16, AV), and used generically for "rich man"

193) Roger favoured the plenum as against the vacuum (see chapter II, pp 40-41)

194) This remark is directed against those who, like Hobbes, adhered to a completely materialistic view of man and the world

195) It was Newton's discovery that colours change as a result of "light shining or failing"

196) A reference to the traditional views on the earth and its place in the universe, which continued to be held for a long time after Copernicus had published his discoveries in the first half of the sixteenth century

197) The fact that Roger here ranks the belief in attraction with all the prejudices of the past clearly shows that he was convinced that Newton had re-introduced one of the Aristotelian occult qualities (see chapter II, pp 41-42)

198) A reference to the "vis impressa" (see note 137)

199) In most theories of vision before Newton the eye was regarded as a kind of passive receptacle, Newton's theory did away with this conception

200) Suggested emendation and that they would for good reason change their mind

201) i e for hearth and home (Cicero, *De Deorum Natura*, III, 40, 94)

202) Cf *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (3rd ed , revised by F P Wilson, Oxford, 1970), p 67

203) i e , they revert to their old prejudices, *Acts of the Apostles*, 19,28 (AV), in 1680 the Deist Charles Blount published a book with the title *Great is the Diana of the Ephesians*

204) Matthew Hale, *An Essay touching the Gravitation or Non Gravitation of Fluid Bodies* (London, 1673) and *Difficiles Nugae* (London, 1674) see chapter II, p 52

205) In his *Tractatus quinque medico-physici* (1674) John Mayow (1641-1679) postulated the existence of "nitro-aerial particles", for a discussion of Mayow's views see H Guerlac, "John Mayow and the Aerial Nitre", *Actes du VII^e Congres International d'Histoire des Sciences*, Jerusalem, 1953, pp 332-344, and J R Partington, "The Life and Work of John Mayow (1641-1679)", *Isis*, 47, 1956, pp 217 230 and pp 405-417

206) Nathaniel Fairfax, *A Treatise of the Bulk and Selvedge of the World*, London, 1674 ("Talecraft", p 110 and "unthroughfaresom", p 53 passim), see also chapter III, p 95

207) Probably Roger refers here to *An Account of a Portable Barometer* (London, 1700), by the physician Gustavus Parker

208) Perhaps this is a reference to Sir Kenelm Digby and his "sympathetic powder", i e "a powder supposed to heal wounds by 'sympathy' on being applied to a handkerchief or garment stained with blood from the wound, or to the weapon with which the wound was inflicted" (*OED*)

209) Marin Mersenne (1588 1648), French Jesuit and mathematician who corresponded on scientific matters with many of the leading scientists of his day, his best-known work is *La Verite des Sciences* (1624)

210) Roger rejected the Newtonian principle of "action-at-a-distance" and he advances here the Cartesian theory of matter in motion (see chapter II, pp 40-41)

211) Roger rejected the concept of absolute space and absolute time postulated by Newton (see chapter II, p 40)

212) See note 193

213) For Hobbes's attitude towards spirits see *Leviathan*, part IV, ch 46

214) There are obviously Cartesian echoes here

215) i e , nothing can come of nothing (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I, 149, 205, II, 287)

216) See BM, Add MSS 32546, f 231 f

217) This is not correct

218) i e just like

219) Suggested emendation for the same proportion gives the same idea

220) In the Ptolemaic system the planets moved each in a small circle the centre of which described a larger circle, these small circles having their centre on the circumference of another larger circle (called a "deferent") were known as "epicycles"

221) i e the Scholastic philosophers

222) In his *Discours de la Methode* (1637)

223) A slip for "authorities"?

224) i e the unknown through the even less known, for instance when the question "what is eloquence?" is answered with "rhetoric", so when something unknown is "explained" by something even less known

225) Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables of Aesop*, London, 1692 ("The Life of Aesop", Cap V "Aesop's Answer to a Gard'ner"), p 6

226) The original, incorrect, page-numbering in the manuscript is indicated in square brackets

227) BM, Add MSS 32526, f 19v f (see also BM, Add MSS 32526, f 108r f)

228) I am afraid some doubt is justified, as Roger's arithmetic goes wrong here it should be "1728 cubical inches"

229) Cf the opening of Bacon's essay "Of Truth" "What is truth? said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer" (*Francis Bacon's Essays*, Everyman's Library, introduction by O Smeaton, London, 1966, p 3)

230) Suggested emendation if he had asked what is true, it would have been a different matter, as when he said, art thou a King? he was answered affirmatively

231) A sign or symbol for "the world"

232) i e , every age has its own truths, I have not been able to identify this "old Historian"

233) See chapter III, pp 70-71

234) " we hold that Reason is the only Foundation of all Certitude, and that nothing reveal'd, whether to its Manner or its Existence, is more Exempted from its disquisitions, than the ordinary Phenomena of Nature ' (John Toland, *Christianity not Mysterious*, London, 1696, p 6)

235) i e to take a fairy-tale as your text "The earliest notice of the popular history of Tom Thumb, as known in England, occurs in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, where he speaks of it as amongst the tales used by servants to frighten children withall " (J O Halliwell, ed , *The Metrical History of Tom Thumb*, London, 1860, "Preface")

236) In his "Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit" Shaftesbury claimed that man from the start possessed a "moral sense" which enabled him to discern moral values independently of religion (J M Robertson, ed , *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, 2 vols , Gloucester, Mass , 1963, vol 1, pp 237-338)

237) i e from the outside

238) i e an optical illusion

239) i e willing or unwilling, willy nilly

240) i e that all heavy bodies incline downwards

241) i e one equivalent to all

242) i e unknown region

243) i e as far as they can

244) See Psalm 14,1 and Psalm 53,1 (AV)

245) For a confirmation of this see Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's Lives, *The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes* (VIII vols , Oxford, 1928), vol I, pp 154-155, pp 174-175, pp 188-189, p 202

246) These remarks were also made by Hickes in a letter to Roger of May 23, 1713 (for copies of this letter see BM, Add MSS 32551, f 34v and Bodleian Library, MS Eng Hist b 2, f 170r)

247) Charles Leslie (1650-1722), a nonjuror, who in 1698 published his *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists, wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated by Infallible Proof from Four Rules* These four rules were "First, That the matter of fact be such, as that men's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it Second, That it be done publicly, in face of the world Third, That not only public monuments be kept up in honour of it, but some outward actions to be performed Fourth, That such monuments and such actions or observances be instituted and do commence from the time the matter of fact was done" (*The Theological Works of Charles Leslie*, 7 vols , Oxford, 1832, vol 1, p 12)

248) Suggested emendation and are not to be imposed upon human kind

249) For a more extensive treatment of suicide by Roger see *Lives*, III, pp 151-154 (see also chapter III, pp 74-75)

250) Matthew 19,12 (AV), in his *Observations and Advices Oeconomical* Roger's father makes the same remark (p 20)

251) Cf John Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, 1646, Liber I, cap 9 (see also *Observations and Advices Oeconomical*, p 20)

252) i e blunderers, simpletons, Gotham was "the name of a village proverbial for the folly of its inhabitants" (*OED*)

253) A group of north German trading towns united in a political and commercial federation

254) See note 2 to chapter III

255) The original, incorrect, page-numbering in the manuscript is indicated in square brackets

256) i e from bad to worse

257) Probably Roger refers here to the cases of Bishop Compton and Magdalen College in James II's reign (see chapter I, p 12 and the corresponding notes) Roger's criticism does not seem to be justified as both Compton and nearly all of the Fellows of Magdalen College behaved in a conscientious way Yet Roger thought that they complied too much by letting themselves be implicated at all (see *Lives*, III, pp 120-121, and especially the following passage "they should not have appeared further than to protest The common law and juries would have defended their freeholds And such mistaken proceedings as these were a means to mislead the king, whereas a stout regular opposition such as the archbishop intended would probably have stopped the commissioners," p 121)

258) i e completely (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3,12,10 toto caelo errare)

259) i e let that which is good remain so

260) i e to the bone

261) Suggested emendation and as if for others to interpose were a bold and dangerous invasion of their property, yet all ignorant people shall bear and even be pleased under all its [referring to "republic" or "democracy"] crabbed and brutish dealing which fleeces

them fin' a gli ossi.

262) Cf. Sebastian Franck (c.1499-c.1543), *Paradoxa* (1534), 236: mundus vult decipi; ergo decipiatur, i.e. the world wants to be deceived, then let it be deceived.

263) See note 240.

264) A reference to the Civil War and the Interregnum.

265) i.e. the Earl of Shaftesbury (for this story see *Examen*, pp.95-96).

266) i.e. Queen Anne's reign; for "occasional conformity" see chapter III, p.66.

267) "'to destroy (anything) root and branch': to destroy both the thing itself and all its effects, orig. suggested by the wording (derived from *Mal.* IV. 1) of the London Petition of Dec. 11, 1640, for the total abolition of episcopal government" (*OED*).

268) For this see J.T. Rutt, ed., *An Historical Account of My Own Life, with some reflections on the times I have lived in, 1671-1731, by Edmund Calamy* (2 vols., London, 1829), vol. 2, pp.468-469; see further H.W. Clark, *History of English Nonconformity* (2 vols., London, 1911 and 1913), vol. 2, p.97.

269) For the position of the Dissenters in Scotland after 1688 see David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (OUP Paperback, 1969), pp.269-272.

270) See note 262.

271) i.e. never (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 87).

272) See note 258.

273) "7" rather than "6"; for the behaviour and trial of the seven bishops in 1688 see chapter I, p.14.

274) Sir Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's Lives, *The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes* (VIII vols., Oxford, 1928); for Aristides see vol. III, pp.108-158, for Phocion see vol. V, pp.350-393; for Scipio Africanus see vol. VII, pp.355-369 and for Cicero see vol. VI, pp.158-220.

275) See note 57.

276) "e contra" in Italian means "and the opposite" or "and vice versa".

277) Act 25 Edw. III, Stat. 5, c.2, defined in 1350-1351 as compassing or imagining the king's death.

278) See chapter III, p.63.

279) i.e. prayers and tears, and nothing else.

280) Vomit, reject with loathing (see Appendix I).

281) Edward Pelling (d.1718), a firm defender of the Anglican Church against both Roman Catholics and Dissenters, who printed many sermons, especially 30th January sermons, i.e. sermons to commemorate the death of the "Holy Martyr" Charles I on 30 January 1649. I have not been able to trace this particular phrase.

282) Suggested emendation: And if they had preached up ..., and if they had told their flock to have a care of that damnable offence of high treason, and that being guilty of it, though they escaped in this world, they could not... That the laws of the land prohibited ... and as offending against that law ... that thus their guilt would be aggravated and would carry the stain of all those horrid consequences; and they should therefore have besought them ... and all concerned in them.

283) i.e. *Leviathan* (especially Part I, ch. 14).

284) The opening sentence can be emended in two ways, either by simply replacing "leans" by "lean" or by rephrasing it as follows: The model of Mr Hobbes, with all its politic dogmata that as it were to inculcate them by repetition run through all his book, is a twine of sand for it leans wholly on this foundation.

285) (Dropped) from the clouds, coming from the clouds (see Appendix I).

286) In his attack on Hobbes's theories (*Dialogues*, 1672 and 1673) John Eachard for argument's sake assumed the existence of men who had dropped from the sky on to an island (cf. John Bowle, *Hobbes and his Critics*, London, 1951, p.141 f.).

287) (Dropped) from the clouds, coming from the clouds (see Appendix I)

288) Suggested emendation· there is necessarily a considerable skill and experience of want and plenty ... to be acquired in order to be covetous or to think of monopolizing.

289) i.e. "self-lovers" (see Appendix I).

290) i e the adjective ("contented")

291) Page torn, approximately five words missing.

292) Page torn, approximately three words missing

293) i.e., the state of nature is a state of war.

294) i.e., of which the opposite is true

295) Page torn, one word missing

296) Page torn, approximately five words missing.

297) Page torn, approximately four words missing.

298) Apollo, the god of the famous oracle at Delphi.

299) Suggested emendation And the admitting that, as who ever denied it or held that breach of contract is lawful, is at the same time an admission of the fact that there is a law .

300) i.e., man is a wolf to other men (Plautus, *Asinaria*, 495 lupus est homo homini)

301) This is not so original as Roger thinks it is, Bishop Bramhall, John Eachard, the Earl of Clarendon and John Whitehall had levelled similar charges at Hobbes (John Bowle, *Hobbes and his Critics*, London, 1951, p 114 f , p.134 f., p.157 f and p 174 f.)

302) i e in the forum of conscience.

303) *Leviathan*, part II, ch. 21.

304) Theoretical (see Appendix I).

305) "In compagnia" in Italian means "in company".

306) i.e. a murderous (ly destructive) war.

307) i e. while war rages.

308) For the ethical aspects of warfare at the time see G.N. Clark, *War and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958), p 79 f and p. 85 f.

309) For an account of Dudley North's closeting see *Lives*, II, pp.221-222.

310) Michaelmas term.

311) George Jeffreys had been appointed Lord Chancellor in September 1685, Jeffreys "undertook the province of the law, and sent for not only the king's servants but every considerable practiser. My Lord Godolphin, as head of the Treasury, sent for all the revenue men and took their answers" (*Lives*, II, p.222). For a modern book on Jeffreys see G.W. Keeton, *Lord Chancellor Jeffreys and the Stuart Cause* (London, 1965).

312) The Test Act of 1673 (25 Car. II, cap. ii), by this Act all persons filling any office, civil or military, were obliged to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and to receive the sacrament according to the Church of England within three months after admittance to office (see David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, OUP Paperback, 1967, p 368).

313) For the Ecclesiastical Commission see chapter I, p 11 (see also David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, OUP Paperback, 1969, pp.175-179).

314) "The first two words of a clause formerly used in statutes and letters patent, which conveyed a licence from the king to do a thing notwithstanding any statute to the contrary (non obstante aliquo in contrarium)" (*OED*).

315) i e. between 1679 and 1681 (the first Exclusion Bill, May 15, 1679, the second Exclusion Bill, October 27, 1680, the third Exclusion Bill, March 26, 1681). See David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, p.589, pp.602-603, p 617

316) Either Sir John Coryton (1648-1690), 2nd Baronet of Newton Ferras in Cornwall and MP for Callington in James II's parliament, or, more probably, Sir William Coryton (1650-1711), brother of the former, 3rd Baronet of Newton Ferras in Cornwall and also MP for Callington in James II's parliament (see J.L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County*

of Cornwall, Exeter, 1887, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, J Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses*, 4 vols , Oxford, 1891-1892).

317) Suggested emendation. "as" can be left out here.

318) Oliver Montague, Solicitor-General to Queen Mary of Modena (see *Lives*, III, p.178, North papers, Rougham, 23C5, note 85 to chapter I).

319) Most probably this is, in spite of Roger's odd spelling, William Chiffinch (d 1688), page of Charles II's bedchamber and, in Ogg's words, "confidential agent, procurer-general, and pawnbroker-in-chief to the king" (David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, pp. 330-331), some information on Chiffinch is also to be found in the *Lives* (I, pp.273-274 and III, p.171)

320) i.e., and that the reserves I had because my opinion might be determined by the debates ..

321) Matthew, 12,30 (AV).

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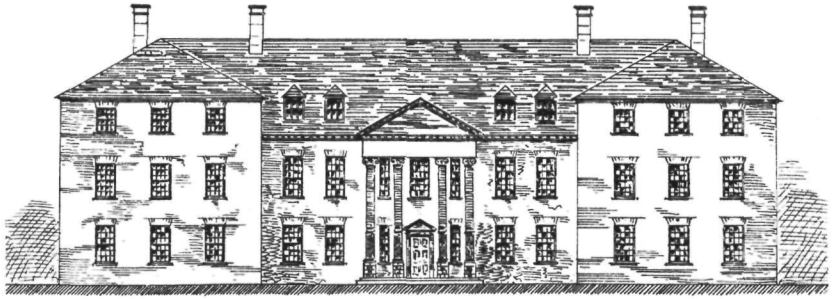

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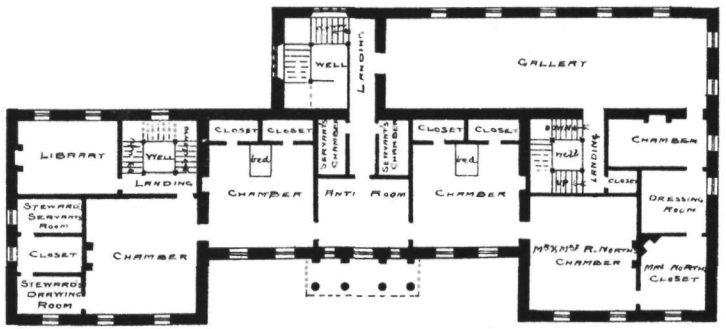

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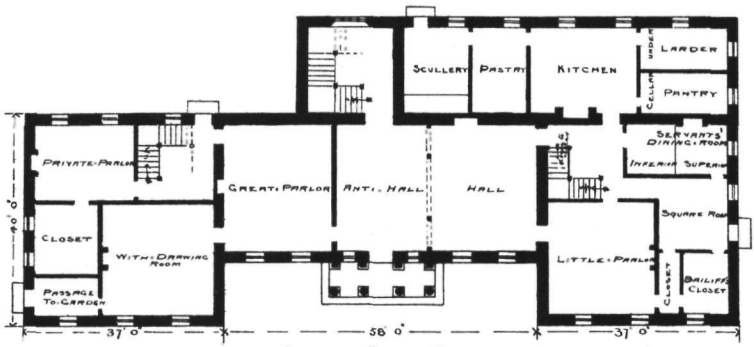

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CURRICULUM VITAE

F.J.M. Korsten was born in Grubbenvorst on 2 July 1944, and was educated at the St.-Thomascollege, Venlo, and the University of Nijmegen, where he read English from 1962 to 1969. During the academic year 1966-1967 he studied at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. From 1969 to 1972 he was lecturer at the English department of the University of Nijmegen, and from 1972 to 1974 he taught English at the Mollerinstituut, Tilburg. Since 1974 he has been teaching English literature at the University of Nijmegen.

STELLINGEN

1. Er zou ten gerieve van toekomstige onderzoekers spoedig een index met namen voorkomend in Roger Norths natuurwetenschappelijke essays moeten worden opgesteld.

2. Het zou wenselijk zijn dat de grote hoeveelheid manuscripten van Roger North en anderen te Rougham op korte termijn geordend en onderzocht worden.

3. De geringe en geringschattende aandacht die erkende geschiedschrijvers als Macaulay en Trevelyan aan Roger North geschonken hebben is een goed voorbeeld van wat Herbert Butterfield "the whig interpretation of history" genoemd heeft (zie Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, London 1931).

4. Een vergelijking tussen Bunyan en Defoe toont aan dat T. S. Eliots bekende uitspraak over wat er met de Engelse poëzie gebeurde in de loop van de zeventiende eeuw (". . . a dissociation of sensibility set in . . .") ook van toepassing is op andere gebieden dan de poëzie (zie T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays*, London 1932).

5. Het is mijns inziens terecht dat literaire kritici over het algemeen zo weinig aandacht aan de schrijver Laurence Sterne besteed hebben.

6. De onlangs overleden Engelse schrijver Adrian Bell is meer dan een regionale schrijver en verdient serieuze belangstelling van de literaire kritiek.

7. Vanuit het oogpunt van motivatie van de leerlingen en omwille van de grotere controle-mogelijkheden voor de docent zou het aanbeveling verdienen dat in de eindexamenklassen van HAVO en VWO de op de literatuurlijst voorkomende werken zoveel mogelijk in de klas besproken worden. De consequentie hiervan zou zijn dat de literatuurlijsten voornamelijk korte verhalen en poëzie bevatten.

8. Voor de ontwikkeling van de NLO's zou het gunstiger geweest zijn als de studenten aan deze opleidingen na de eerste paar jaren niet vrijwel uitsluitend uit HAVO-abituriënten bestaan zouden hebben.

9. Als minimum-eis voor het tot voldoening functioneren als grensrechter in het afdelingsvoetbal zou moeten gelden dat hij zijn vlag af en toe omlaag kan houden.

(Stellingen behorende bij *Roger North (1651-1734), Virtuoso and Essayist* van F. J. M. Korsten)

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